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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The General Condition of the Communist Movement
in China and Manchuria (as of December, 1932)

by the Asiatic Bureau of the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Chapter I, Section 1.

The History of the Communist Party in China (Excerpt).

I. The Beginning of the Communist Party in China (p - 6-21)

The Communist Party in China held its first meeting of representations from all China at the French Concession in Shanghai in May, 1921, the year after its formation. It is reported that, at the meeting, wherein more than ten representatives of such districts as Canton, Shanghai, Nanking, Wuhan, Changsha, etc., assembled, the party declared its formal formation and nominated CHEN Tu-hsueh chairman and CHOU Fou-hai assistant chairman of the central committee, at the same time the assembly adopted a resolution to participate, Comintern. Both before and after the meeting, such influential individuals as LI Ta-chao, YU Shu-ta, LIN Tsu-han, CHU Chiu-pai, CHOU En-lai, LI Li-san, etc. joined the party.

In July, 1922, the following year, the Communist Party held at Canton its second all China assembly, and clarified the purpose of the formation of the party. The council declared the duties of the party to be the overthrow of the military clique, the

exclusion of suppression caused by Imperialism, the accomplishment of complete independence for the Chinese race, the construction of a democratic republic in the form of free federation, the establishment of the right and freedom of laborers and farmers, the enactment of a law concerning labourers, farmers and women, etc.

The assembly stated that its aim was gradually, by forming a united soviet front and by destroying the private property system in a class struggle, to establish a communistic society under a despotic soviet form of government. In June, 1923, the party held at Canton its third all-China meeting. This assembly adopted a nine-article platform for the Communist Party in China and announced its decision to take measures to aid the people's revolution movement of the Chinese Nationalist Party and to collaborate with the Nationalists.

On the other hand, on the side of the Chinese Nationalist Party in August President SUN Wen ran counter to CHEN Chiung-ling, the Governor of the Canton Province, and retired to his home in Shanghai. The Soviet delegate to China, JOFFE, who came to Peking at about the same time, had an interview with SUN Wen at Shanghai in January 1923, the following year. He impressed SUN favourably by telling him that he was prepared to open negotiations between Russia and China pursuant to the announcement of abolition of the Russo-Chinese Treaty concluded during the days of Tsarist regime. He also stated that he intended in these negotiation to settle primarily matters concerning the Chinese

Eastern Railway, and said that China might be able to expect ardent sympathy and support from the U.S.S.R. in carrying out her people's revolution.

From repeated experience, SUN Wen thought it most difficult for the Nationalist Party to achieve a people's revolution on its own. He considered it necessary, in order to accomplish the object, to get the masses together and train them, after the example of the development of the Russian revolution and to ask for Soviet assistance. He seemed to have realized the necessity, under the circumstances, of co-operating with the Communist Party to this end. Consequently, upon his return to Canton in February of the same year and his assumption of the post of Generalissimo, negotiations concerning a Nationalist-Russian alignment policy were pushed on between LIAO Chung-kai, SUN Wen's right-hand man, and JOFFE. When BORODIN came to Canton as an adviser to SUN Wen in December, the movement toward, materialization of the so-called policy of admittance to communism was greatly accelerated.

II

Expansion of Communist Power due to the Kuomintang's pro-Communist policy.

At the First General Assembly of the Chinese Kuomintang held in February 1924 at Swangtung, SUN Wen reorganized the Kuomintang on the three principles of pro-Russianism, pro-communism and laborism and proposed a new national revolutionary movement with the support of the proletariat. Among the domestic policies

set out in the program which was decided upon at the Assembly there were many items providing for the welfare of workers and peasants, such as policies providing for improvement of the living conditions of workers, protection of labor organizations, organizations for peasants, reduction of tenant fees and taxes, agricultural legislations etc. All these show the remarkable influence of the doctrines of the Chinese Communist Party upon the policy of the Kuomintang. Moreover, those who were newly appointed members of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang included nine prominent Communists such as LI Ta-chin, LIN Ping-shan LIN Tsu-hau etc.

At the same time the aid extended by the Comintern to the Kuomintang became more positive than ever. Scores of military and political advisers, headed by Sen, Galen (Disguised name. His real name is Bukhel. He is now Supreme Commander of the Far Eastern Army. At the time of the Tokhatchevsky case he presided over the trial), were dispatched to China. CHIANG Kai-shek, who had been sent to Russia in August, 1923, by SUN Wen in order to prepare for the organization of a Kuomintang Army, returned to China in January, 1924. In May of that year, with the co-operation of the above military advisers, he established the Kuangoo Military Academy and became himself its president. He then undertook the task of training junior officers for the Kuomintang Army by means of a revolutionist system of military education after that of the Soviet Army.

Prior to this, there had been a change in post of the Soviet representative to China, and Karakhan, who succeeded Joffe, opened negotiations with China for the rehabilitation of Sino-Soviet relations and the solution of questions pending at that time between the two powers. In May, 1924, an 'Agreement for the solution of various questions' was entered into by the two Governments. In this agreement each of the two parties stipulated that it would publish no propaganda opposing the political or social regime of the other. At the same time the U.S.S.R. promised in this Agreement to give up: the greater part of her rights to the Chinese Eastern Railway; special rights and interests which the Russian Imperial Government had acquired in China; the Russian share in the Chinese reparations for the Boxer Incident; and extraterritoriality and jurisdiction of the consular courts. These Russian concessions caused a sensation among the Chinese people, and their friendly feeling toward the SOVIET UNION grew spontaneously. Thus, collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communists became closer and closer under these circumstances and exercised an epoch-making influence upon national movement of the Chinese young men, which had progressed since the Opium War. A month after the above mentioned agreement was concluded, the Anti-Imperialism League was organized in Peiping by combining twenty-two bodies, namely, the Peiping Student's Association, the Proletariat Association, the League for of Political, Life and Social

Reconstruction, the CHIAI Police Promotion Association, the Young Patriot's Association, the Sino-Russian Diplomatic Association, etc.

When the second war between MUJIKUM and CHINLI broke out in September of the same year, the SOVIET UNION maneuvered movements against CHANG Tso-lin and gave assistance to FANG Kuo-chang, who is commander of the CHINLI army, advanced to the frontier of JING Province. After the success of a coup d'etat which was carried through in Peiping, by FANG Kuo-chang according to a ^S scheme laid by the members of the Kuomintang subordinate to him, the Kuomintang's sphere of influence came to extend over the Peiping-Tientsin area. Accordingly the Communists, who controlled the Kuomintang, gained in strength over this area. In Manchuria, an agreement between Mukden and the U.S.S.R. was concluded in September of the same year in regard principally to the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway under the provisions relating to this railway in the previously mentioned agreement. As a consequence the Soviet Union regained their power in North Manchuria to a great extent, particularly, since most of the employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company were red Russians. With the increase in strength of the Communist movement labor movement also became active in China and, as a result, labor disputes became more frequent. There were forty-nine cases in 1921 ninety-one in 1922, forty-seven in 1923, fifty-six in 1924, and in 1925 the number of cases suddenly rose to two hundred and eighty following the spinning industry strikes at Tsingtao.

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in April of the same year. On April 30 labor disputes broke out in the Shanghai Waigaimen Spinning Company, whereby the general situation gradually took a serious turn. The demonstration of May 30, which was carried out in the International Concession and which included students finally led to a riot, and the firing of Indian policemen against the rioters led directly to the outbreak of the so-called May 30 Incident. The said incident spread over the whole of China, creating vehement anti-imperialistic movements in various places, and in the natural course of events brought about a movement in and around Canton for severance of economic relations with England. (As to details of the May 30 Incident, they are stated in a separate paper) ("Refer to Chapter II, Section Item 5)

We shall now come back and look within the Kuomintang. Since its adoption of pro-communism, it had been supplied with arms and funds in abundance by the U.S.S.R., and the National Revolutionary Army had been organized, whereby the party had utterly changed both in appearance and substance. However, on the other hand, communist elements had come to hold sway over every field within the party, and nearly every organ of the party was placed under direct control of Russian advisers. Therefore, such rightist members as CHANG Chi, TENG Tso-ju, who were from the very beginning rather unwilling to co-operate with the Communists introduced to the Central Committee in July, 1924, the draft of denunciation of the Communists. Thus signs of interior disturbances were already to be discerned.

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By the good officers of SUN then the disturbances were quelled for a time. However, after FANG Y u-hsiang's coup d'etat in Peiping, SUN Wen went in November to that city to convene the National Assembly, and on March 12, 1925, he died there. Thereupon the disturbances came to the surface. The leftists of the Kuomintang and the Communists severed their relation with the rightists and returned to Canton in a group, adopting

committee system they established a political committee on June 24 comprising 16 members with CHANG Chin-wei as chief. This committee included such men as LIAO Chung-kai, HU Han-min and others. In spite of their statement to the effect that their pro-communist policy would not mean the communization of the Kuomintang, actual power in the party was placed in the hands of Borodin, LIAO Chung-kai, and their group. Thus the rift between them and the rightists at Peiping only widened. In August of the same year, LIAO Chung-kai was assassinated, by rightists, and HU Han-min was imprisoned as a result of the coup d'etat executed by CHANG Kai-shek against the leftists. These losses rendered a terrible blow to the left wing. On the other hand, such members of the right-wing at Peiping as TAI Tien-shou, CHANG-chi, and CHU Cheng, who were called the New Rightists, resolved on October 24 that Communists should be expelled from the Kuomintang, that Borodin should be dismissed, and that the Canton Political Committee should be abolished. As a matter of fact they expelled LI Tsi-chao, TAI Ping-shou and seven other

communist member of the Central Committee from the Kuomintang. In retaliation for such steps, the Canton leftists held the Second National Assembly of the Kuomintang and discussed matters concerning the amendment of party regulations and enforcement of discipline. Furthermore they expelled the Paining Rightists from the party and published a warning and exhortation to them. Subsequently, they conducted an election of committee members. Since the rightists did not take part in the assembly, the Communists and leftists made great advances in this election, and such thoroughgoing Communists as LI Ta-chao, TAN Ping-shan, and LIN Fan-han, turned out, as before, to hold the most influential positions. Against the above-mentioned steps, the New Rightists also convened a "Second National Assembly of the Kuomintang" at Shanghai in the same month, but failed in extending any substantial influence. Shortly after that they were obliged either to revert to the committee in Canton or else be left behind the tide as "disappointed politicians."

As stated above, the Communists, in order to extend their party in influence, supported the Leftists with all their might, during the whole period of internal disturbances. They carried out every possible plan, such as convening the Fourth National Assembly at Canton in January, 1925, organizing the Chinese Communist Youth Association in February as a subsidiary organ for the party, and establishing the Chinese National Labor Association at Canton in May. The National Labor Association under the command of the Communists, played a most active part

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in the May 30 Incident, mentioned above, which may be said to have been epoch-making in the history of Chinese social revolution. CHIANG Kai-shek, who had been appointed Principal of the Harungoo Military Academy in May 1924, and who had since then been absorbed in military education, held 5,000 troops in his command. This army, consisting of picked student soldiers, had secretly increased in strength. CHIANG cleverly took advantage of the internal disturbances in the Kuomintang, and gradually extended his influence. Upon assumption of the post of Commander in Chief of the National Revolutionary Army he came to hold the reins in military affairs. He then made up his mind, to suppress the Communists. By chance, in March the same year, a plot by the Communists and leftists to assassinate CHIANG was brought to light and scores of men involved in the case were arrested. Thereupon, having become aware of the urgent necessity of halting the expansion of communist influence, CHIANG Kai-shek passed a bill concerning management of party affairs through the General Assembly of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang, which convened in May. The bill stipulated as follows:

Communists shall not occupy more than one-third of the posts in the various committees of any grade within the Kuomintang.

Members of the Kuomintang are prohibited from entering the Communist Party.

By such means CHIANG succeeded in preventing the breakdown

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of the Canton Government.

In July of 1926, the Canton Government appointed CHIUNG Kai-shak Commander of the National Revolutionary Army to carry out a northern expedition. In September, he captured Hankow and in March of the next year, 1927, he at last succeeded in occupying Shanghai and Nanking. Consequently, all of central and southern China came to be under the influence of the National Revolutionary Army. In the beginning when the plans for a northern expedition became known, the Communists, fearing that the power of the Kuomintang would be increased by a successful northern expedition, opposed the expedition with all their power. But, later, perceiving the definite trend of affairs they reached the conclusion that they had better take over leadership of the National Revolution. This they proposed to do by aggressively availing themselves of the power held by others, and by devoting their utmost effort to farm and labor movements. They therefore reversed their policy, dispatched delegates and political councillors to the National Revolutionary Army, and charged them with the spreading of propaganda and the training of soldiers. They also directed the delegates to precede the army on its march northward and, by stirring up farmers and laborers along the way, to drive the northern military clique into a corner. And they, as well, sent Communist members secretly into Shanghai, Hankow, Nanking, and other important cities beforehand, to instigate labor movements, to destroy order and,

consequently to facilitate the entrance of the northern expedition forces. Therefore, in consequence, the northern expedition forces achieved the success mentioned above in the short period of only eight months, CHIANG Kai-shek, was of course, afraid that the strength of the communist activities would cause the corruption of Communists among his own forces and the people in his territory. However, in view of the fact that the National Revolutionary Army, at that time, was fully engaged in the occupation of Hanking and Shanghai, he was obliged to concede large freedom of activity to the Communists. Consequently during the time of the above mentioned northern expedition the power of the Communist Party increased remarkably with its party members numbering 90,000; its communist young men's party members, 60,000, its communist labor's party members, 3,000,000 and its farmer's association members, 10,000,000.

3. Decline of Communist Party Due to the Occupation of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

In February, 1927, the Nationalist Government was established in the Nanchang-Hankow-Hanyang Area and the communists and the left wing members of the Kuomintang participated in it. CHIANG Kai-shek, however, whose demand for the establishment of the government in Nanchang had been denied, flew away at once to Shanghai, accompanied by his prominent followers, and laid plans to attack Shanghai and Hanking, thus devoting his energy toward opening a new front.

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On the other hand at the national assembly of Kuomintang which was held in March of same year the members of the 'uchang-Hankow-Hanyang group planned the reorganization of the Kuomintang. They also abolished the General Headquarters of the National Revolutionary Army and decided to let CHIUNG Kai-shek be a member of the military commission.

In the re-election of committee members, all permanent and political seats in the commission were occupied by Communists and left-wing members of the Kuomintang with the exception of two which went to members of CHIUNG's faction. Thus it was evident that the leftists intended to get rid of CHIUNG Kai-shek by strong influence all over the 'uchang-Hankow-Hanyang district. CHIUNG Kai-shek, accordingly, took countermeasures, against the Communists in the beginning of April, after the occupation of Shanghai, by mustering moderate members of the Kuomintang in Shanghai, and, at the same time, maintaining strict control over the Communists and left wing members. On April 6, WANG Chao-ming, who had been involved in the plot against CHIUNG Kai-shek's life and fearing CHIUNG's revenge, had sought refuge in France, returned to Shanghai, CHIUNG Kai-shek conferred with him concerning measures which should be taken against the Communists. However due to their disagreement of opinion, WANG left ^{to} Shanghai and went Hankow. Thereupon CHIUNG made up his mind to eradicate Communists from the Kuomintang and, at the outset, dissolved the temporary governments of the

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special communist city in Shanghai. He followed through in the middle of the same month with suppression of Communists in Shanghai and Canton. On the 18th of the same month he declared the establishment of a Kuomintang Government in Nanking apart from the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government. He thus clearly demonstrated his intention of breaking down Communism.

In opposition to this, the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government, on the 17th of the same month, expelled CHIANG Kai-shek from the party, removed him from government service, and gave order for his arrest. At this point relations between the two factions were completely severed.

Prior to this, in the summer of 1926, since the occupation of Peking by the Mukden army, the communist party, the base of which was in the Soviet Embassy, had secretly been inciting LI Ta-hsiao, the department chief of the north area, and others to engage in communist movements in North China. On April 6, 1927, however, the Anhwei Government, the head of which was CHANG Tsao-lin, searched the Administrative Department of Eastern China Railway the Far Eastern Bank, and the officer's office in a former camp, west of the Soviet Embassy, and obtained numerous propaganda documents. They also arrested LI Ta-hsiao in his hiding place. On the following day, the 7th, they surrounded the Soviet Consulate-general in Shanghai, and, on the same day, they also searched the laborer's & farmers' organizations in Tientsin.

The Peking Government and the Soviet Government exchanged views with each other about the incident KUIKOV, Chief of the Soviet Consulate in Peking, made a speech at the 13th general meeting of the Russian Soviet on the 10th April to the effect that the recall of Chinese Charge's affairs did not mean the suspension of diplomatic relation. Subsequently he recalled them. The Charge's affairs and all members of embassy, except two, evacuated from Peking on April 13. There were some persons who expressed such strong opinions as that China should suspend diplomatic relations with Russia, but, with a view toward internal affairs and, above all, toward the tide of war with the Nationalist Government, the Peking Government did not take active measures against Soviet Russia. On the 20th of April LI Te-chao was shot to death. Faced with a party crisis the Chinese Communist Party lost a person who had played an important role in it since its foundation.

After LI Te-chao's accession of the Communist Party, the influence of the party withered. Generally speaking, its sphere of influence covered only a part of Kiangsi around two provinces, HUNAN and HUBEI. In the 5th general meeting of the representatives of the Communist Party from all over the country, which was held at the beginning of May, the agricultural problem was discussed, and the general principle of confiscating only the land of large landowners as a means toward land revolution was adopted. Though the opinion of the moderate party went out on this point, in HUNAN districts, contrary to the decision of the central headquarters of the party, land was confiscated not

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only from the large landowners, but also from the small landowners. There were not a few victims of confiscation who were connected, with military officers of HUIAN party. As a result, these military officers combined to oppose the Communists. In the middle of May, the officers and men under TANG Sheng-chih's command rose in the military revolt at Huchang, and Changsha and swept out the communist element there.

A great difference of opinion concerning the proper measures to take in a situation arose within the Communist Party between the right wing, led by GUEN Ku-hsia, and TAN Pung-shan, and the left wing led by LI Li-san and HSIANG Chung-fa. As a result, the influence of the Communist Party grew still weaker, while the Huchang-Hankow-Hongkong Government became more conservative. Finally on June 1, the Political Committee decided to dismiss BORODIN and all other Russian advisers. WAN Chao-ming learned that the Comintern had ordered their special envoy to China, ROU (phonetic), now residing in Hankow to organize the Communist forces totalling 70,000, Communists, farmers, and laborers in HUIAN and HUPEH districts in order to confiscate land from the landowners directly, and to wipe out the persons subscribing to the old ideas of the Central Committee of the National Party. Surprised by the unconceivable wickedness of the Communist Party, TANG Chao-ming changed the attitude which he had heretofore held and at the enlarged assembly of the central Committee, which opened on July 9, he strongly insisted on the separation of the Nationalist and Communist parties. Finally he caused the assembly to adopt the policy of forbidding communist activity in the Kuomintang and communist propaganda in the National Revolutionary Army.

Due to the decision of the Central Committee Meeting of July 9 the Comintern ordered the Communists immediately to make an ostentatious secession but at the same time to remain in the Kuomintang and to make a supreme effort to overthrow its staff. As a result, the Communist members, TANG Ping-shan, WANG Chao-min, LI Li-san, etc., seceded from the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government in the middle of July but attempted to influence the future policy of the Kuomintang. WANG Chao-min, and his party issued a statement on July 23 declaring that the leadership of national revolution belonged exclusively to the Kuomintang and that Communists were to be denied the right of participation in the future 'people's revolution. At the same time, they instructed every section of the party and every party organ to check communist activities. They thus curbed communist movements in the Kuomintang. Accordingly in July, 1927, TANG Ping-shan and his party were obliged to leave the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang area. Thereupon they assembled at Wanchang in Hiangsi Province to lay plans for the future.

At that time the force headed by CHU Te (Vice-Commander of the 9th Army) under the general command of CHU Pei-te (Supreme Commander of the 3rd group), and the force headed by HO Lung (Commander of the 20th Army) and YEH Ping (Commander of the 24th Army), both under the general command of CHANG Kai-shek (Supreme Commander of the 2nd District Army of the 4th Group) were dispatched to the front by the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government. Communist Party members, however, incited a sudden military revolt among them on July 31. Then the Communists occupied Wanchang, established the

Revolutionary Committee and, on August, formed a temporary government led by LIN Tsu-Kan and other communists.

The Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government immediately had CHANG Pa-Kuei and CHU wei-tu suppress the rebellion. The rebel army abandoned Hanchang on August 6, went south through Kiangsi to Canton Province and occupied CHAOCHOW and SHANTON, but was crushed by the Canton Army led by LI Chi-shen and HUANG Shao-hsiung. After that, the rest of the army moved from place to place in Canton, Fukien, Kiangsi and Hunan, and founded the Red Army of today.

As soon as the Hanchang riot broke out, the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government issued on August 5 an order to control the Communist Party and a warrant for the arrest of TAN Ping-shan, LIN Tsu-han, and HSIANG Chung-fa. Hereupon, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party separated entirely. After that, beginning on July 27 with Borodin, about 140 Soviet Russian advisers left China one after another, the influence of Soviet Russia over the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government was broken entirely. Thus, Bolshevism was completely purged from the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government, which had once been the stronghold of the Communist Party, and the government changed its policy towards Communists in such a way that it became the same as that of Wangking Government. Thus, the way for amalgamation of the two governments was paved. As a result, the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government on August 19, 1929 declared its amalgamation with the Wangking Government with the understanding that the two factions would purify the Kuomintang and unify the power of the Party. On September 16 both governments issued by circular telegram a declaration of the

suppression of the northern region. On the 16th they held a general meeting of the Central Committee at Nanking, decided to strike the names of 18 Communists including TAN Ping-shan and LIN Tsu-Han off their party roll, and organized the special Central Committee. The amalgamation of the two Governments was by the steps completed.

IV. The Failure of the Riot Policy of the Communist Party.

As above stated, when the influence of the communist faction had been entirely lost, the Communists became very anxious to regain their power. At that time there arose among the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, an ever-increasing discord between the right-wing, headed by CHEN Tu-hsiu, TAN Ping-shan, etc., and the left-wing, represented by LI Li-shan, HSIAO Chung-fu, CHU Chiu-cho and others.

The Comintern, in view of these facts, was convinced the necessity of bringing about a drastic change in its policy towards China. After instructing the Communists to secede from the Nanchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government, it took measures to suppress internal strife within the Chinese Communist Party, and, abandoning the compromising opportunist attitude hitherto taken toward the Kuomintang, to apply exclusively the method of armed riots. It planned thus with one blow to realize the communist revolution, and to take vengeance on the Kuomintang. Accordingly it apparently ordered the communist members of every district to rise up immediately. However, CHEN Tu-hsiu, who was at Hankow at that time, took

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a negative attitude and recognized that the trend of the times had made such steps obsolete, and that the triumph of the bourgeoisie was an accomplished fact. He therefore asserted the necessity of adopting a defensive policy to meet the current circumstances and of preserving strength for class struggle. The Comintern immediately expelled CHEN for expressing such ideas and issued instructions calling for an emergency assembly under the leadership of CHU Chiu-ao. Accordingly on August 9, the emergency assembly was convened at KIUKIANG, and, with CHU Chiu-ao as their leader, the members adopted a policy of armed riot all over China, and of sovietization of local districts. They secretly sent their members to various districts to incite laborers and farmers. Thus, in a period of four months they caused successive uprisings in SHANGHAI, NING, WUSIN, CHANG SHA, SWATOW, and other localities. It seemed for a time as though a reign of terror had begun, but these riots were all suppressed by the Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang Government.

Again CHANG Pa-Kuei who had gone south in October of the same year, carried out a coup d'etat at Canton on November 17, and drove away LI Chi-shan, but since he sent a greater part of his army to the front line to provide against a possible counter-attack by LI Chi-shan to recover Canton, his garrison force at Canton became very scant. The Canton provincial committee of the Communist Party, which was already planning to recover Canton by arousing laborers inclined to the left, took advantage of this opportunity, organized a military committee for revolution and a general staff

office and demanded that CHANG Fa-kuei release the Communist members who had been imprisoned, offering in exchange to collaborate with him in subjecting Li Chi-shen. CHANG Fa-kuei, whose military strength was rather inferior to that of Li Chi-shen, was convinced of the necessity of his obtaining the collaboration of the communist members. He, therefore released about 700 Communists from prison early in December and at the same time, gave a large sum of money to cover the expense of dissolving to the committee of strikers of the provincial ports, who had been uniting against the English since the May 30 Incident. In this way he disbanded about 12,000 workmen. The Communist Party, witnessing this, suddenly commenced hostilities on December 11 against the army of CHANG Fa-kuei. The Communists took possession of the Public Peace Bureau, disarmed the Security corps and occupied the administrative and military organs. On the following day, December 12, a mass meeting of the representatives of the soldiers, farmers and workmen was held in which a soviet committee led by SU Chao-wei was elected and the Canton Soviet Government was formed. CHANG ordered one of his generals, LI Fu-lin, to subjugate the Communist Army. On the afternoon of the 13th LI Fu-lin recovered Canton, disarmed the greater part of the Communist Army, and shot to death five thousand and several hundred men. At the same time the Soviet Consulate-general was searched, and secret documents concerning this riot were seized. The Soviet Consul-general and ten other Russians were detained. Eight Russians who had been detained at the Public Peace Bureau, including a vice-consul, were shot to death.

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Since there was ample reason to suspect intervention on the part of the Soviet Government and of the Comintern behind the Canton riot, the Nanking Government decided to break diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and in a note dated December 15, it informed the Soviet Consul-general at Shanghai, that it was abrogating its recognition of the Soviet Union consulates as well as of the Soviet Government commercial institutions in all places under the jurisdiction of the Nationalist Government and demanded the withdrawal of all officials and service men working at the consulates and commercial institutions to their own country. To this note, the Soviet Consul-general issued a reply on the 18th of the same month, in the name of Chichelin (phonetic) a member of the People's commissariat of Foreign Affairs, strongly protesting that, the Nationalist Government of Nanking is not the government recognized by the Government of the Soviet Union, and that the consulates of the Soviet Union at the various places in China had been established with the recognition of the Peking Government, in accordance with the Peking Convention of 1924. The Russians further retorted in ^{there} reply that neither the Soviet Government nor its consulates had ever had any connection with the "Red movement". To this, Hu Chao-shu, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Nationalist Government responded by stating that, just as the Nationalist Government had not formally acknowledged the U.S.S. government, so the latter had never gone through a diplomatic formality for the recognition of the former, last that the consuls of the Soviet Russia had been carrying on their official business in China with

the acknowledgement of the Nationalist Government. However, Chinese feeling toward the Russians grew increasingly hostile and the position of the Russians in China became more insecure in proportionate degrees. The Russian government thereupon closed its consulates-general in Shanghai, Hankow, and Canton and by the end of December had all their personnel evacuate their posts and return home.

Thus the Russian Communists' repeated attempts at instigating riots all failed, meanwhile, in the Comintern the Trotsky faction, which had opposed the new economic policy of 1921 as well as the opportunist policy taken by Stalin, Bukharin and their followers toward the Chinese revolution profited from this critical situation and rose to power. Simultaneously with this Trotsky movement, there rose also a faction of Chinese Communists led by CHEN Tu-hsiu and TAN Ping-shan, who had entertained a grudge against the central staff of the Comintern as well as the central staff of the Chinese Communist Party. In this way, a movement against Stalin and the Chinese Communist Party's central staff became quite prominent. It finally called forth a high-handed measure from the Stalinists who, at the 15th general conference of the Russian Communist Party held in December of 1927, expelled Trotsky, Zinovjev, and more than 70 other comrades from the Party in order to stop the unrest recently seen within the Comintern. The Chinese Communist Party directed by the Comintern, also expelled TAN Ping-shan from its membership at its Central Committee Enlargement Conference held in November, 1927. CHEN Tu-shu was allowed to stay in the Party, but amid its cold regards he completely lost influence.

V. New Policy Established at the 6th General Meeting
of the Chinese Communist Party.

The failure of the attempted riot in Canton destroyed all hopes in the possibility of the realization of the revolution by means of armed action, and the Communist movement in China fell to a low level. The Chinese Communist Party found it necessary temporarily to suspend its actual movements, deliberate on the cause of its past failures, and establish a new policy for its future development. When in July 1928, the Comintern held its 6th general meeting in Moscow, side by side with it in Moscow, under the guidance of the Comintern, the Chinese Communist Party held its sixth general meeting of representatives from All China. The meeting passed various wide-scope bills including those containing (1) the general resolutions of the 6th Meeting of Representatives from all China (2) Political resolutions, (3) draft resolutions about the Organization question (4) resolutions on the question of a soviet government organization, (5) resolutions on a propaganda program, (6) resolutions on military maneuvering. (7) resolution on land questions, (8) resolutions on the farmers' question, (9) resolutions on the workmen's question, (10) resolutions on the Communist youth movement, and (11) resolutions on the Women's Movement.

Through these resolutions, the meeting decided, that the Party's paramount duties, were (1) the extirpation of the landlord class and the realization of a thorough land revolution, (2) expulsion of

China.
imperialism and unification of China. (a) overthrow by armed action of the "Nationalist government, which is a government of the anti-revolutionary propertied class, and the establishment of a worker-farmer-soldier's soviet government. For the Party's program the meeting decided on the following ten points:

- (1) Overthrow of the imperialistic government.
- (2) Confiscation of banks and other enterprises run by foreign capital.
- (3) unification of China and acknowledgment of the right of self-decision of each race.
- (4) Overthrow of the war-lords' Nationalist government.
- (5) Establishment of a worker-farmer-soldier's soviet government.
- (6) Establishment of an 8-hour labor system, and of a wage increase; realization of relief work for the unemployed and a social security system for worker.
- (7) Confiscation of all lands from the Landlord class and the complete restoration of their possession to the peasant class.
- (8) Improvement of the soldier's living conditions by giving them land and occupation.
- (9) Abolition of all the old forms of taxation, governmental, local, or military; and enforcement of a progressive tax system.
- (10) Union with the world's proletariat and the U.S.S.R.

(Cf. Photographs VII)

The program adopted by this sixth meeting of the Chinese Communist Party's representatives from all China may be summed up

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to comprise the Party's two fundamental objectives, overthrow of imperialism and destruction of feudal power. For the realization of these objectives the meeting decided to reject the revolutionary activities of the capitalist class and depend solely on the proletariat, revolutionary force. For that purpose it resolved that the Party had no other means left but armed action but that observing the fact that their revolutionary force had just passed through its first period of vigorous action, they were compelled to wait for another rise in the communist tide. They also resolved that in the meanwhile, in order to quicken that swelling tide, they must strengthen the Revolutionarists' Mutual Aid Association and the Farmers' Association, draw more soldiers into the Party, reinforce their activities among the people, and guard themselves against falling again into the errors of opportunism blind action, and dictatorial leadership.

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Certificate of Source and Authenticity

I, KAKIUCHI, Aoru, who occupy the post of the Chief of the Archives and Documents Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 18 pages and entitled "The ⁹ General Condition of the Communist Movement in China" is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 14th day of March, 1947.

KAKIUCHI, Aoru (seal)
Signature of Official

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the witness.

At the same place, on this same date.

Witness: HRABE, Katsumu (seal)

TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, Charlie S. Terry, of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

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/s/ Charlie S. Terry

Tokyo, Japan
Date 14 April 1947

四月九日十二月

一、部及諸部ニ於ケル其ノ組織

第一章 第一節 中國共產黨ノ沿革（摘要）

第一 中國共產黨ノ發祥時代（六頁—二一頁）

中國共產黨ハ其ノ成立ノ翌年、即チ一九二一年五月上、中旬、上海、南京、武漢、長沙等ノ各地代表
第一次全國代表大會ヲ開キ、上海、南京、武漢、長沙等ノ各地代表
十餘名參事ノ席上ニ於テ中國共產黨ノ正式成立ヲ宣シ中央委員長ニ陳独秀
ヲ同副委員長ニ周佛西ヲ選任スルト共ニ「コミンテルン」加入ヲ決
シタリト傳ヘラル而シテ同大會ノ前後ニ於テ李大釗、于樹德、林福海、
瞿秋白、周恩來、李立三等ノ有力分子ノ入會ヲ見タリ

一九二二年、七月中國共產黨ハ廣東ニ於テ第二次全國大會ヲ開キ、
任務カ軍隊打倒、國際帝國主義ノ壓迫排除、支那民族ノ完全ナル獨立、
自由聯邦制ニ依ル民主共和國ノ建設、勞働者及農民ノ權利自由確立、勞
働者、農民及婦女ニ關スル法律ノ制定等ヲ目標トシテ勞農聯合戰線ヲ作

リ。機關等ノ内ニ依リ私利私慾ヲ破壞シテ國家主義ノ下
ニ一ノ共同主義ヲ樹立スルニ在ルコトヲ宣言シテ立憲ノ主義ヲ門
限シ更ニ翌一九二二年六月再ハ廣東ニ第二次全國代表大會ヲ開キ中共
産黨總綱九箇條ヲ議決スルト同時ニ中國國民黨ノ國民革命運動ヲ援助シ
之ト提揚合作スルノ方策ヲ決定シテ之ヲ宣言セリ

一方中國國民黨ニ在リテハ一九二二年八月總理孫文カ廣東省長陳炯明ト
衝突シテ上海ニ隱遁スルヤ之ト殆ント時ヲ同シウシテ北京ニ來レル勢最
政府 支那第一ヨツフェー（*Yotfe*）ハ翌一九二二年一月上旬ニ於テ
孫文ト會見シ前清帝政時代ノ總支條約廢棄ノ聲明ニ基キ再ハ交渉ヲ開始
スルノ用意アルコト特ニ更ニ鐵道問題モ石交渉ニ於テ解決スルノ計劃ア
ルコト並其ノ國民革命ノ事業ニ對シテハ蘇聯邦ノ熱烈ナル同情ト援助ヲ

得ヘキコトヲ告ケテ孫文ノ好感ヲ迎ヘタリ

孫文モ廣東ノ經濟ニ依リ國民黨獨力ニテハ國民革命ヲ遂行スルコト至
ナルヲ思ヒ目的達成ニハ蘇聯革命ノ最初過程ニ倣ヒ大衆ヲ組織訓練スル
ト共ニ蘇聯邦ノ援助ヲ得ルノ要アリ。之カ爲メニハ共產黨ト提携スルノ
必要ヲ認ムルニ至リタルモノノ如ク同年二月其ノ廣東ニ歸リ大元帥トナ

ルヤ。心一休動ト「ヨツフエ」ノモニ國民ノ政治ニ
ラレハ二月杯迄ノ時間トシテ「ボロティン」ハいふこと
ニ農工所屬各共政體ノ具体化ノ點ニハ若シクは之をラ
ルルニ至レリ。

第二國民黨ノ容共政策ニ因ル共產黨ノ勢力伸張

一九二四年一月廣東ニ於テ開議セラレタル中國國民黨第一次全國代表大會ニ於テ孫文ハ新ニ時勢、容共、農工ノ三政策ヲ提ケテ國民黨ノ改組シテ階級ヲ背景トスル新ナル國民革命運動ヲ提唱ヤリ而シテ同大會ニ於テ決議セラレタル政綱中對内政策トシテ提ケラレタルモノ中ニハ勞働者ノ生活改善、勞働者組織ノ保護、農民ニ對スル組織、小作料及租稅ノ輕減並農業立法等勞働者及農民ニ對スル政策ニ重點ヲ置キタル項目多ク中國共產黨ノ主張ニ著シク影響セラレタルヲ看取ヤラルルノミナラス國民黨中央委員トシテ姓名セラレタル者ノ中ニハ李大鈞、譚平山、林祖涵等九名ノ有力ナル共產黨員ヲ交フルニ至レリ

之ト同時ニ「コミンテルン」ノ國民黨援助ハ急々積極的トナリ「カアレン」ハ別名ニシテ實名ハ（Buckhead）ナリ現粵東軍總司令官トハチエフスキ一事件ノ時ハ軍事裁判長ヲナスレ將軍以下數十名ノ軍事及政治顧問ヲ派遣シタルカ變ニ一九二三年八月黨軍總統陳炯明ノ爲孫文ヨリ露國ニ派遣セラレタル張介石ハ一九二四年一月歸國シ是等軍事顧問援助ノ下ニ五

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月、朝鮮、支那、官學校ヲ設立シ、自ラ校長トナリ、勞農教育ノ組織ニ依リ革命之
義の宣傳教育ヲ施シ、黨軍ノ中ニタルハキ人材ノ養成ニ着手セリ
之ヨリ先一九二三年九月、蘇聯邦駐支代表ノ更迭アリ、「ヨツフェ」ニ代リテ
着任シタル「カラハン」(Kara Han)ニ依リ、蘇支兩交ノ恢復並兩國間ノ懸
案等ニ關スル交渉開始セラレ、翌一九二四年五月、兩國間ニ「協定」締結、解決ノ
爲メ大體ニ關スル所定ニ成立シ、右ニ依リ兩國ハ他ノ國ニ對シテ政治上
社會上ノ制度ニ反對スル宣傳ハ行ハサルヘキコトヲ約シタルヲ他面同協定
ニ於テ、蘇聯邦力東支鐵道ニ關スル權益ノ一大部分、帝政政府ノ支那ニ於テ
獲得サル一切ノ特殊權益、匪特權益ノ取分、治外法權及領事裁判權ノ撤
消ヲ約シタルコトハ、支那民心ニ對シテ一大刺激ヲ與ヘ、蘇聯邦ニ對スル好感
油然而シテ、昂進シ、斯クシテ、國民黨ト共產黨トノ合作ヲ益々促進シタルヲ這
般ノ情勢ハ阿片戰爭以來ノ支那青年民族運動ニ劃期的ノ效果ヲ及ボシ、前記
協定成立ノ翌月北京ニ於テ北京學生聯合會、無產者同盟、政治生活社會改
造同盟、中國和平促進會、青年救國團、國民對俄外交同志會等、二十二ノ
團體ヲ聯合サル反帝同盟主義聯盟ノ成立ヲ見タリ

slightly 19-A

同年九月第二回直戰争起ルヲ以テハ極力反張作霖策ヲ試ミ特ニ直軍派ノ將トシテ河省地方官ニ任官ナル王祥符援助ヤリ十月二十二日力ヲ下ニ在リシ國民黨員ノ刺殺ニ依リ北京ニ來リ「クーデター」ヲ敢行スルニ及ビ國民黨ノ勢力京滬一帶ニ加ハリ國民黨ヲ操縦ナル共產黨ノ勢力ヲ自ラ之ニ伴ヒテ同方面ニ伸張ヤリ又滿洲ニ於テハ同年九月前記陸定中東支鐵道ニ關スル事項ニ對シ主トシテ同鐵道ノ經營ニ關スル奉德協定成立シ其ノ結果蘇聯邦ハ北滿ニ於テ著シク其ノ權力ヲ回復シ時ニ東支鐵道從業者ハ多數ノ赤系露人ヲ以テ充實ナルルニ至レリ、茲上共產運動伸張ノ影響ヲ受ケ支那ニ於ケル労働運動亦飛躍的ニ擴大シ労働爭議爆發シテ一九二一年四九件、一九二二年九一件、一九二三年四七件、一九二四年五六件ヲ算シ一九二五年ニ入リテハ一躍二八〇件ニトリ殊ニ同年四月青島ニ於ケル紡績罷業ニ引續キ同月三十日上海内外棉紡績ノ労働爭議勃發シ形勢次第ニ惡化シ五月三十日其同租界内ニ行ハレタル學生ヲ含ム示威運動ハ遂ニ暴動化シ暴徒ニ對スル印軍人巡查ノ發砲ヲ直接ノ原因トシテ所謂五卅事件ノ發生ヲ見タルカ同事件ハ直チニ金支ニ波及シ各地ニ於テ猛烈ナル反帝國主義運動ヲ

1922年7月24日

陳氏シ轉ノ機ヲ所導東ヲ中心トスル對英經濟關係交通ニ轉化スルニ志シ
 リ（五卅事件ノ詳細ニ付テハ別ニ記述ス）（第二節第四款第五參照）
 斯ツテ國民黨内ノ情況ヲ見ルニ其ノ容共政策採用以來蘇聯結ヨリ多數ノ
 武器及資金等ノ供給ヲ受ケテ國民黨革命軍ヲ編成セラシメ其ノ面目及内容
 ハ全ク一變セラレタルヲ黨内ノ大勢ハ歸ケテ共產黨分子ノ支配スル所ト
 ナリ諸般ノ施設ヲ殆ント蘇人顧問ノ方針ニ左右ラルルニ至リタルヲ以
 テ當初ヨリ共產黨トノ提携ヲ喜ハサリシ張勳等如等右派國民黨員一派
 ハ一九二四年七月中央委員會ニ對シテ共產黨排斥案ヲ提出シ早クテ黨内
 訌ノ米ヲ現ハシ孫文ノ軀ヲ依リ當時總カニ收拾スルヲ得ケルヲ同年十
 月馮玉祥ノ北京ニ於ケル「クーデター」後孫文カ十一月國民黨召集ヲ
 目的トシテ北上シ翌一九二五年三月十二日北京ニ客死スルヤ内訌ハ遂ニ
 表面化シ國民黨員ノ左派及共產黨員ハ右派ト分袂結束シテ廣東ニ歸リ六
 月二十四日委員會制度ニ依リ汪兆銘ヲ委員長トシ廖仲愷、胡漢民等十六名
 ヲ委員トスル政治委員會ヲ設立ナリ、汪兆銘等一派ハ國民黨ノ附屬共
 黨ハ決シテ黨ノ共產化ヲ意味スルヲノニ非サルコトヲ強調シタルヲ黨

ノ愛護ハ「ボロディン」及「張作霖」一派ニ對シ北京ニ於ケル右派トノ實情ハ其ノ組織化セリ

同年八月、張作霖ノ爲ニ時局ヲラレタリテ張介石ノ左派ニ對スル「グーデター」ニ依リ張作霖ノコトアリテ東左派ノ間ニ一時の格アリ一方北派七派中張作霖、張作霖、居正等所屬右派ハ十月二十日共產黨員ノ「民衆」機關紙、「ボロディン」ノ機關紙廣東省委員ノ取消等ヲ決議シ共產黨中央委員李太劍、譚平山等九名ヲ除棄セリ、廣東左派ハ右ニ對抗スル手段トシテ一九二六年一月第二次國民黨全國代表大會ヲ召集規程ニ、規程修正等ヲ行ヒタルカ右派ノ參加無カリシ爲メ共產黨員ヲ官シタル上委員選舉ヲ行ヒタルカ右派ノ參加無カリシ爲メ共產黨員及右派ノ退出者シテ李太劍、譚平山、林祖涵等純共產黨員ハ依然其ノ中ニ占據セリ右ニ對シ新右派亦同月十日第二次國民黨全國代表大會ヲ開キタルカ實質的ニ何等勢力ヲ伸張スルヲ得ス幾クモ或ハ廣東ニ復シ或ハ其黨ノ空トシテ發サルルニ至レリ

如上 長党内訂則ニ於テ共產黨ハ國民黨左派ヲ極力支持シテ黨勢を擴張

ニ力ヲホキ一九二五年一月總代表大會ヲ廣東ニ開キ二月ニハ黨
ノ活動補助機關タル中時共産主義青年團ヲ創立シ五月ニハ廣東ニ於テ中
華全國總工會ヲ組織スル等發展至リサル無カリシカ、前記五項事件ニ於
テハ右記下ニハ共産黨ノ指導ノ下ニ支 社會革命史上ニ劃期的活動ヲ試
ミタリ

之ヨリ先一九二四年五月廣州市官學校長ニ任命セラレ奉ラ軍政教育ニ努
メシツツアリタル蔣介石ハ精銳ナル學生軍五千ヲ率ヒ總督一勢力ヲ形而
スルニ至リタルカ國民黨ノ内訌ニ對シテハ巧ニ之ヲ操縦シテ漸次其ノ勢
力ヲ扶植シ一九二六年二月、民選省長陳炯明ニ就任シテ軍事上ノ實權ヲ握
握スルヤ漸ク共産黨ヲ志スルニ至リタル際粵々同月三月共産黨及左派
ニ傾ル陳炯明ノ陰謀發覺シ陳者數十名逮捕セラレタル事件アリ之カ爲
蔣介石ハ共産黨ノ勢力伸張ヲ抑止スルノ急務ナルヲ認メ五月陳炯明ノ國民
黨中央委員會總會ニ於テ共産黨ハ國民黨各級黨部委員ノ三分ノ一以上ヲ
占ムルヲ要サルコト及國民黨員ハ共産黨員タルヲ得サルコト等ヲ定メタ
ル黨務整理案ヲ通過ヤシメ辛ウシテ廣東政府ノ混亂ヲ防止スルヲ務メタリ

一九二六年七月廣東政府ハ蒋介石ヲ以テ民革命軍總司令ニ任シテ北伐ヲ決
行ノ九月三日口ヲ開シ翌一九二七年三月終ニ上海及南京ヲ占領シ茲ニ粵
支一帯ハ一ケテ國民革命軍ノ勢力國內ニ歸セリ茲初北伐ノ計畫アルハ共
産派ハ北伐成功ハ國民黨ノ勢力増大スヘキヲ恐レ百万之ニ反對シタル
ハ大體カス可ラサルヲ見ルニ及ヒ蘇口極極的ニ之ヲ利用シ農民及勞働
運動ニ全力ヲ注ギ國民革命ノ信賴ヲ鼓舞スルニ如カストシテ其ノ方針
ヲ一掃シ革命軍中ニ黨代表及政治委員ヲ附シテ兵卒ノ教育及宣傳ニ當ラ
シメ地方成ハ革命ノ行先々ニ於テ勞働者及農民ヲ激勵シテ北方軍民ヲ鎮
壓ニ驅ラシメ或ハ武裝、上海其他ノ主要都市ニ對シテ共產黨員ヲ導入セシ
メ勞働運動ヲ煽動シテ治安ヲ擾亂シ以テ北伐軍ノ進入ヲ容易ナラシムル
ノ役割ヲ演シ其ノ結果北伐軍ヲシテ發程以來僅カニ八ヶ月ノ短期間ニ於
テ前記ノ如キ成功ヲ収ムルヲ得ヤシメタリ

蒋介石トシテハ右共產黨員ノ活躍ニ依リ其ノ勢力ノ自己ノ軍閥及地方民
心ニ浸潤スルニ至ルヘキヲ謀レサリシニ非サルハ當時ハ民革命軍トシテ
ハ南京及上海占領ニ至ラナリシ關係上共產黨員ニ對シ廣泛ナル行動ノ自

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はヲ興フル、已ムナキニ至レリ其ノ結果右北伐期間ニ於テ共産黨ノ能力ハ著シク増大シ一九二七年ノ初ニハ黨員九萬、共産青年團員六萬、赤色工會員三百萬、農民協會員一千万ト増ヤフルルニ至レリ

Ref No. 259-1

ニハクニ及ビ國民黨ヨリ
ノ此則市面は政府ヲ倒スルヲ企テ
國民黨政行シ同月十八日南京ニ於テ武漢政府ヨリ獨立シテ國民政府ノ獨立ヲ
宣シ其意は打倒ノ態度ヲ明ニセリ之ニ對シ武漢政府ハ同月十七日蔣介石ノ復
讐ヲ防キ一即ノ官廳ヲ廢スルト其ニ對シ命令ヲ發シ茲ニ兩方ノ關係ハ全然決
裂ヲ交セリ

之ヨリ先一九二六年夏奉天官北軍占領以來共產黨ハ在露俄國大使館ニ根據ト
シ北方局長李大維ヲシテニ北支地方ニ對スル軍政府ハ寧和同大使館内西
力一九二七年四月六日張作霖ヲ主腦トスル軍政府ハ寧和同大使館内西
陸ノ軍省鐵路駐軍處（東支鐵道管理局）ノ軍官行及兵營内武官軍務所
ヲ襲撃シ多數ノ官僱並並潜伏中ノ李大維等ヲ逮捕シ續イテ翌七日上海歸國

其總領事館包圍シ同日在天津總督府機關ヲ搜索セリ
大事件ニ關シ北京政府ト勢力政府トノ間ニ互ニ抗議行ハレタル力強ク人民
黨長「ルイコフ」ハ四月十日第十三期全會「ソヴィエト」大會ニ於テ強支
代理大使ノ出馬ハ外務關係ノ糾紛ヲ意味セスト演説ヲナシタル後之カ糾紛ヲ

History #

259-A

合シ口外ノ大佐以下幹部ハ二名キリキ同十九日北京ニ出陣ケタリ一方北京
政府内ニ於テモ、蕭耀南友ノ四日哈アリタルモ其内閣閣員中國民政府ト
ノ關係上蕭耀南ニ對シ何等關係的排擠キアル所ナカリキ尙在大約ハ四月二
十八日就任セラレ中國共産黨ハ其ノ勢力ノ危機ニ臨ミ創始以來最モ有力
ル黨目ヲ衰ヒタリ
其ノ間蔣介石ノ共産派親戚以來、共産派ノ勢力ハ漸カニ減退シ大休ニ於テ
湖南。湖北二省ヲ中心トシ、江西ノ一部ニ及フニ限キサルニ至リタルカ
同任四月下旬ヨリ五月上旬ニ至リ即催セラレタル中國共産黨第五次全國代
表大會ニ於テ農工問題ニ關スル計議行ハレ、土地革命ニ付テハ大地主ノミ
ノ土地沒收ヲ主張トスル銅領作成セラレ此點ニ於テハ蘇俄派ノ主張没收
シタルモ湖南地方ニ於テハ右黨中央ノ決議ニ反シ、小地主ヲモ含ム土地ノ
沒收成ニ行ハレ地主者中ニハ湖南派軍人ニ關シテ有スル影響力ヲサリシ爲
メ長沙軍人一派ハ一歩シテ反共産的態度ヲ執リ下等中相産生智部下ノ陸兵
ハ武昌及長沙ニ兵變ヲ起シ地方共産黨ヲ一掃セリ

共産黨ハ七月廿四日、イニシテ政府軍ヲ降退シ、國民政府内ニ在リテ政府軍ヲ
セムトシタルモ、四月二十三日江蘇省第一師ハ國民政府ノ停戰協定ハ國民政府ニ
在リ國民政府ノ降参ノ爲メ共産黨軍ヲ倒シセサル可ラストノ聲明ノ宣明ニ
應ズルト共ニ、各級黨部及各機關ニ對シ共産黨ノ行方指示訓令シ世産黨
員ヲシテ國民政府内ニ於テ活動スルノ命令カラシメクル。然レ共産黨軍ハ
彼ニ對シテ去ラサルヲ望ミタルニ至リ一九二七年七月末江蘇省政府ニ結合シ
テ國民政府軍ヲ倒シタリ。

國民政府軍政府軍ノ爲メ、江蘇省政府ヨリ停戰セラレタル朱培德（第三旅團
長）張發奎（第四旅團長）並張發奎（第四旅團長）二方面軍
（第一旅團）下ノ失散（第一旅團）及張發奎（第二十四軍長）ノ降参出陣ノ
シカ共産黨員ハ之ヲ煽動シテ七月三十一日寧波兵變ヲ起シシメ、寧波占領
ト同時ニ蘇州ニ至リテ八月一日蘇州府内下ノ世産黨員ヲ倒シテ政府軍
員ヲ倒シタリ、蘇州政府ハ直チニ張發奎及朱培德ヲシテ討伐セシメタル結
果、寧波ハ八月六日市日ヲ起シ江蘇省ヲ占下シテ政府軍ニ出テ蘇州、寧波
ヲ占領シタルモ、蘇州府乃チ蘇州府ノ政府軍ニ對シテラレ爾來、蘇州府ハ寧波

市、府、縣、江、河、湖、海、各、地、手、續、シ、テ、今、日、ノ、行、軍、ノ、始、行、カ、ル、ニ、至、レ、リ
市、民、兵、士、等、他、ノ、學、生、チ、目、ル、ヤ、他、府、政、府、ハ、八、月、五、日、共、同、軍、ヲ、締、合、シ、出、シ、續、イ
テ、平、山、林、間、河、白、虎、等、ノ、建、策、名、ヲ、登、シ、茲、ニ、共、同、軍、ハ、全、軍、ニ、分、割、ス、ル
ニ、至、レ、リ、而、シ、テ、七、月、二、十、七、日、ハ、ボ、ロ、デ、イ、ソ、ル、ノ、行、軍、ヲ、初、メ、ト、シ、而、シ、テ、合、約、一、回
〇、久、ノ、行、軍、ヲ、人、目、目、カ、相、見、イ、テ、支、那、ヲ、退、去、ス、ル、ニ、及、ト、國、民、黨、及、口、民、政、府、ハ、ニ
他、府、セ、ラ、レ、タ、ル、參、事、長、等、ノ、勢、力、ハ、全、ク、消、滅、ニ、歸、セ、リ、斯、ク、ノ、如、ク、コ、シ、テ、一、時
共、同、軍、ノ、勢、力、タ、リ、シ、武、府、政、府、モ、全、軍、ニ、自、任、化、シ、共、同、軍、ニ、歸、ス、ル、政、府、ニ、於、テ
市、民、政、府、ト、同、一、ノ、方、針、ニ、行、動、ス、ル、ニ、至、レ、リ、然、レ、モ、而、シ、テ、自、ラ、促、進、セ、ラ、レ、
一、九、二、七、年、八、月、十、九、日、武、府、政、府、ハ、國、民、黨、ノ、黨、綱、ヲ、採、取、シ、立、ト、キ、年、件、ト、シ、テ、
市、民、政、府、ト、ノ、合、同、ヲ、宣、言、シ、九、月、六、日、而、政、府、共、同、ニ、テ、北、方、宣、言、ヲ、宣、言、シ、十、六
日、市、民、黨、ハ、市、民、黨、ト、合、同、ヲ、締、合、シ、而、シ、テ、平、山、林、間、河、一、八、名、ノ、共、同、軍、ヲ、形、成、シ、
市、民、黨、ハ、市、民、黨、ト、合、同、ヲ、締、合、シ、而、シ、テ、平、山、林、間、河、一、八、名、ノ、共、同、軍、ヲ、形、成、シ、

第四 共產黨ノ暴動政策ノ失敗

以上ノ如クニシテ共產派ノ勢威全ク地ニ墜チ頽勢挽回ニ焦慮スルニ及ビ
中國共產黨ノ幹部内ニ於テ陳獨秀、譚平山等右傾派ト奎立三、向忠發、
瞿秋白等左傾派トノ確執ハ益々増大セリ

「コミンテルン」ハ遺般ノ情勢ニ鑑ミ對立方策ニ一大轉換ヲ加フルノ必
要ヲ認メ前記ぶ黨員ノ武漢政府脫退ノ指令後更ニ中國共產黨ニ於ケル
内争ヲ抑壓スルト同時ニ國民黨ニ對シテハ從來ノ如キ妥協的總會主義的
態度ヲ改メ專ラ武裝暴動ニ依リ一盤ニ共產革命實現ヲ實施シ併セテ國民
黨ニ復仇セムコトヲ目論見、各地共產黨員ニ對シ即時暴動ヲ命シタルモ
ノノ如シ。然ルニ當時漢口ニ在リタル陳獨秀ハ大勢既ニ去リタリト爲シ
「ブルジョアジー」勝利ノ既定事實ヲ承認スルト共ニ何時適當ナル退守
政策ヲ執リ階級戰闘力ヲ保存スルノ要ヲ消極的的態度ヲ持シタル爲メ「コ
ミンテルン」ハ直チニ陳ヲ除外シ瞿秋白新黨ノ下ニ緊急會議召集ヲ指令
セリ

依テ八月七日九江ニ於テ緊急會議ヲ召集シ瞿秋白ヲ中心ニ全國武裝暴動

Ref. No. 154

及地方一ソワイエト一化ノ方針ヲ認定シ當局ヲ各地ニ滲入セシメ暴動ヲ
各地ニ相繼イテ暴動ヲ起サシメ一時恐慌時代現出ノ勢アリタルカ何レ
モ武漢政府ノ鎮壓スル所トナレリ

夏ニ同年十月武漢ヨリ閣下セルハ十一月十七日廣州ニ「クーデタ
ー」ヲ斷行シ李濟ヲ驅逐シタルカ李ノ廣東返國ニ備フル爲メ自己ノ軍
隊ノ大部分ヲ戰線ニ添リタル結果廣東ハ警備極メテ手薄トナレリ豫テ左
傾勞動者ヲ使メシ武漢暴動ニ依リ廣東取リ廻中ナリシ共產黨廣東省
委員會ハ此ノ機會ヲ捉ヘテ先ツ革命軍委員會及參謀本部ヲ組織シタル
後、張發奎ニ對シ李濟討伐ニ協力スヘキヲ條件トシテ入獄中ノ共產黨員
ノ釋放ヲ要求セリ李濟 軍ニ對シ形成新ハサリシ張發奎カ共產黨員及勞
働者ノ協力ヲ得ルノ必要ヲ認メ十二月初入獄中ノ共產黨員約七〇〇名ヲ
釋放スルト共ニ五卅事件以來對英罷業ニ結京中ナリシ省港罷工委員會ニ
對シ多額ノ解散費ヲ支給シテ工八約一二、〇〇〇人ヲ解散スルヲ見ルヤ
十二月十一日共產黨ハ突如張發奎ニ向ツテ開戦シ公安局ヲ占領シ保安隊

Handwritten note at the top left of the page.

タル上世府署政府長其ノ事蹟ニ於テ、赤化ヲ一ニ同視セルコト等
皆ヲ反感シタル同僚ヲ殺シ之ニ對シテ民政府外資部長佐藤ヲハ民政府
ハ該縣政府ヲ承認セサリシト同僚等モ同感シテ正式ニ承認セル
事ナキモ該縣政府ヲ承認スル所アリタルカ支那人ノ對待政策ハ在
實際支那人ノ急務ヲ加ノ事アルニ對シテ該縣ハ上端、治口、諸事ノ各
項詳細節ヲ開陳スルニ至リ信目ハ大ニ改觀ノ令ニ依リ十二月六日ニ至ル
ニ夫々各事ヲ明瞭ケタリ

等々ノ如クニシテ支那黨ノ各派間カ根柢イテ先トニ終ルヤ「コミンテ
ルン」内閣ニ於テハ「一九二一年ノ革命」ニ反對シテ「スターリ
ン」「ブハーリン」等ノ主張ニ對シテ「コミンテ」合衆的ニ反對シテ
ル「トロツキー」一派ハ此ノ「コミンテ」之ト同感ニ「コミンテ」
「中央並ニ中共」共産黨中央ニ對シテ「スターリン」一派ハ「中共」
中共共産黨モ亦之ニ對シテ「スターリン」一派ハ「中共」
ルニ至レリ此ニ於テ「スターリン」一派ハ「中共」
二月ノ全黨大會共産黨中央ニ於テ「トロツキー」「ジノヴィエ

Ref. No. 757-A

「以下七十余名ノ同志ヲ除名シテ「コミンテルン」内部ノ動搖抑止ニ努メタルカ中國共産黨ニ於テモ「コミンテルン」ノ旨ヲ承ケ一九二七年十一月ノ中央委員會擴大會議ニ於テ平山ヲ除名シ陳獨秀ハ爾來黨内ニ於テ冷遇セラレ全ク其ノ勢威ヲ失墜セリ

第100号 第100号

第五 六次大會ニ於ケル新方針決定

産業運動執行ノ失敗ニ依リ武力暴動ニ依ル革命實現ノ可能ニ否クニ決シテ
レニ於ケル共產運動ハ過激派ニ入リタルヲ以テ中野實黨ハ一國共
ノ思想運動ヲ見合セ過去ノ失敗ノ故中野實黨ニ對シテ新方針ヲ確
立スルノ必要ニ迫ラレタリ之カ爲メ一九二八年七月莫斯科ニ於ケル「コミ
ンテルン」第六次大會ト併行シ同地ニ於テ「コミンテルン」ノ指導ノ下
ニ山田共産黨第六次全日大會代議士會ヲ開催シ(一)第六次全日大會ノ議程
(二)政治決議案(三)組織問題決議案(四)「ソヴィエト」政府組織問題決議案(五)
宣傳運動決議案(六)軍事工作決議案(七)土地問題決議案(八)農民問題決議案(九)
職工問題決議案(十)共產青年運動決議案(十一)婦人運動決議案(十二)總論決議案
ヲ通過シタルカ是等諸決議案ノ中ニ於テ現今後ノ根本任務トシニ

(一)地主階級ヲ撲滅シ徹底的ニ工場革命ヲ實行スルコト(二)帝國主義ヲ打倒
シテ支那ヲ統一スルコト(三)武装暴動ニ依リテ反革命者タル資產階級國民黨ノ政權ヲ打倒シ
以テ工農兵「ソヴィエト」政府ヲ建設スルコトヲ決定シ政綱トシテ

(一)帝國主義的統治ヲ推翻スルコト

Ref. No. 957-A

- (一) 外國資本ニ依ル企業及銀行ノ沒收スルコト
- (二) 土地ノ統一シ民衆自決權ヲ承認スルコト
- (三) 軍國國民黨政府ヲ推翻スルコト
- (四) 工兵代表會議政府ヲ建立スルコト
- (五) 八時間勞動制ヲ實行スルト共ニ工賃ヲ増加シ失業率ノ救済及社會保險制度ヲ實行スルコト
- (六) 一切ノ地主階級ノ土地ヲ沒收シ總テノ耕地ヲ農民ニ歸スルコト
- (七) 兵士ノ生活ヲ改善シ之ニ土地ヲ給シ職業ヲ與フルコト
- (八) 一切ノ政府。軍閥及地方的徵稅ヲ取消シ統一の累進稅ヲ實行スルコト
- (九) 十世界無產階級及蘇聯邦ト聯合スルコト

ノ十箇條ヲ決載セリ（寫眞第七參照）

之ヲ西スルニ中國共產黨第六次全國大會ニ於テ決定シタル新方針ハ黨ノ二大任務ヲ帝國主義ノ打倒ト封建勢力ノ撲滅ニ求メ右任務ノ爲メニハ資本階級ノ行フ革命ヲ排撃シ無產階級ニ依ル革命ヲ達成セシムヘク之カ爲メニハ當然「ソヴィエト」政權ノ確立ヲ擁護シコノ目的ヲ達成スル上ニ

Heft 107 158-1

予武蔵野動ヲ唯一ノ手段、セサル所ラサルモ、又革命ノ理想ハ第一
「時代」ニ云リタルニ依リテ、二次ノ高貴ヲ得ツテ、二次ノ
「革命」スルタメニハ革命互濟會及國民協會ヲ鞏固ニシ、兵士ヲ入レ、家
下任ニ力ヲ注ギ、從來ノ社會主義、安民主義、命令主義等ノ錯誤ニ陥ラサ
ルヲ要スト云フニ在リタリ

文書ノ用所ニ成立ニ附スル証書

自分、林ハ外務省文書課長ノトニ居ル者ナル時、茲ニ添付セラレタル
日本語ニ依ツテ書カレ十六頁ヨリ成ル支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共産黨
ト呼スル書類ハ日本政府ニ外務省ノ保ヲニ依ル公文ニ據テ
シテ眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年二月十四日 於東京

林

印

右署名印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

立會人 浦 惣 勝 馬

Ref. Doc. # 929-B

The Outlook of Communist Development in China and Manchuria
(as of December, 1932)

Asia Bureau of Foreign Ministry

Chapter 1.

Part 1. Excerpt from "The History of The Chinese Communist
Party"

7. A Clean-up of LI Li-san Railway Line (F24--F28)

Hereupon, the Far East Bureau reported in detail to the Communist International asking for control of the actions of the LI Li-san party. Thus the Communist International held a meeting of the Executive Committee and the Moscow Representatives to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and by a joint decision gave instructions to the Chinese Communist Party pointing out the mistaken actions taken by the LI Li-san Railway Line and the previously mentioned Third National Conference of China in September, 1930. The above instruction also designated the future policy.

This instruction arrived on the 16th of November, 1930:

(1) As the process of the revolutionary movement in each part of China is multifarious, we can not regard success in one or only a few provinces as a means to measure complete success in the whole country.

(2) The development of labour movements is slower than organizations of farmers.

(3) Imperialism has powerful influence centered in industry of commerce.

Ref. Doc. # 959-B

The Outlook of Communist Movement in China and Manchuria
(as of December, 1932)

Asia Bureau of Foreign Ministry

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- (2) The development of labour movements is slower than organizations of farmers.
- (3) Imperialism has powerful influence centered in industry of commerce.

(4) The organization of the Soviet spheres is not good.

(5) Red army organization is insufficient.

Thus it pointed out a mistake of Li Li-san's Party, namely, that they were under a vain illusion and were disregarding reality, for it is useless to attack a new style Imperialistic army and to plan to capture the largest cities with the strength of the Red army in its present state. Such a course would not only cause a great loss but would be detrimental to us, for it would bring about the useless sacrifice of many able Communists. It indicated the following three points as the measures to be adopted for the future.

(1) To organize an efficient industrial and agricultural Red army immediately and first of all expand its strength somewhere in the neighborhood of forty-five thousand to fifty thousand, while establishing the secure foundation for material resources in one or several Soviet spheres.

(2) To build a Soviet government with constructive capabilities within the Soviet-district and with almost all the positions occupied by Communists; make the best elements of industrial agricultural and military forces participate in the government and realize a true land revolution. Carry out an authentic economic policy whose data are based upon the middle and lower classes of farmers.

(3) To organize people in non-Soviet sphere so that they may participate in the economic and political struggle, that is, to make all the problems about labourers, such as labour conditions or social legislation, etc., as the starting point in economic strife, and develop a farmers' movement in the provinces with guerilla wars. Further, by disturbing the nation-

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alist government and by increasing the power of communist in the army of the military clique, actual help will be given the Soviet spheres.

Though LI Li-san resigned from the Political Bureau as a consequence of the decision to obey the above order passed by the Central Political Bureau meeting on the 25th of November, there were not a few in the party who defended the LI Li-san Railway line. So the anti-LI Li-san party held the fourth Central Committee augmented meeting and decided upon new measures, while insisting emphatically to prepare for the seventh augmented meeting of representatives of the whole country, and as a consequence the Communist International ordered to hold the augmented Fourth National Conference of China.

Accordingly, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held the fourth augmented conference of the Central Committee in Shanghai on the 16th of January in 1931, and, after a discussion admitted the orders of the Communist International and decided on a new measure. They also re-elected the leaders of the committee and excluded LI Li-san, CHOU En-lai and CHU Chiu-pai etc., except HSIANG Chung-fa, the chairman of the committee. The LI Li-san and CHU Chiu-pai took the blame and issued their own statements admitting their mistakes to the Fourth National Conference of China, but soon after this LI Li-san was summoned to Moscow as a member of the representatives to Russia. Also HSIANG Chung-fa, CHOU En-lai, CHEN shao-yu and SHEN Tsch-min formed a new group of leaders.

Further, according to the decision of the above mentioned augmented meeting of the representatives of the Soviet spheres in May of 1930, executive members of the Communists Party had led the preparation for the first all-Soviet meeting of representatives since September of the same year, and

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the meeting was expected to be held on the 7th of February in 1931 at Shanghai. However, previous to that, in the early part of January 1931, the office of the above preparatory committee was raided by the police of the Engineering Bureau in the common concession, and several representatives who were there then as well as all the staff of the office were arrested and they were all executed by shooting. Consequently the postponement of the meeting indefinitely was unavoidable. The augmented Fourth National Conference of China decided to prepare in the Kiangsi Soviet sphere the establishment of the Soviet central government. The preparatory committee for the provisional government, with a committee of the central political Bureau and HSIAO Ying as its chairman, was ordered to go to KINANGSI in disguise.

3 An Internal Shake-up and A Blow to the Party through the Oppression of Government Authority

As a consequence of the augmented Fourth National Conference of China in 1931, CHU Chiu-pai, CHOU En-lai and others were eliminated as a group. LI Li-san, who had long been holding the real power in the party for three years following the 87th Emergency Conference held in 1927, retained surprisingly all his power and even the new central authority could not subordinate him easily. And in addition to this, at about the time when the Fourth National Conference of China was held, a party of HU Han-chung, LI Chang-lung and others who had most strongly objected to CHU Chiu-pai's party, opposed them so that its authority weakened considerably. As a consequence LI Li-san, CHEN Shao-yu and

HO Meng-hsiung were confronted with a triangular tangle in the party. Especially after secret-information given by CHEN Shao-yu, and having been requested by the Bureau of Public Safety, a Chinese organization, a group of thirty-five members including HO Meng-shiung were arrested by the police of the Engineering Bureau of the Shanghai common concession, during the period from the 17th to the 21st of January 1931. Under these circumstances, the internal troubles between those groups continuously increase.

On the other hand, the nationalist government had tried to control the communists continually after the great oppression of the communists in 1927. (The subjugation of the Red Army is stated in another chapter. See Part II, section 2, clause 6). According to its statement, the government captured 572 communists in Shanghai, 462 in CHECHING province, 159 in CHIANGLI province and others; 1549 members in all in 1930. and in 1931, captured 345 in Shanghai and 320 in HANKOW and other places; making 964 communist members in all. Particularly, the above arrest of HO Meng-shiung's group, which occurred in Shanghai in January 1931. put the government in charge of the nationalist government on the scent, and on 10th of February RU Shung-chang in HANKOW a member of the Central Executive Committee. who was sent secretly from the central authority in order to control the Communist power, and the information concerning him was actively reported by the LI Li-san's party. And on RU Shung-chang's side, the party arrested HSIANG Chung-fa, in Shanghai, the head clerk of the Communist Party, and not only executed him by shooting on the 23rd but also succeeded in arresting other important members as well as dis-

organizing various party organs.

Again the police of the Engineering Bureau of the common concession in Shanghai, having been secretly informed by the police in Singapore, arrested Nulan (The phonetic), chief of the Far East Administration Bureau of the Communist International as well as chief of the clerical Bureau of Pan-Pacific Labor Union (he was saved from the capital punishment by the bail raised by SUNG Chin-ling, SUN Wen's widow and others) and was sentenced for life imprisonment on the 19th of August in 1932 at the high court of justice in Kiangsu).

(See Part II section 1, Clause 2)

There were not a few of the more important communists in TIENTSIN and HANKOW who were captured by the police of the nationalist government.

Those people who were arrested were punished in accordance with the temporary Anti-revolutionary code of Criminal Procedure of the 7th of March in 1923 and the urgent code of Criminal Procedure for the Republic Crisis which came into force on the 1st of January, 1931 in place of the above code. However, KU Shung-chang became a secret agent of the nationalist government since then and worked not only for the arrest of the communist but also took the lead in CHENG Kai-shek's movement of oppressive policy.

In this way the arrest of the important communist members and especially KU Shung-chang's betrayal gave a serious blow together with the internal trouble of the communists which had come from the clean-up of the LI Li-san railway line, and it made inevitable for almost all the members of the central committee to escape temporarily to the Soviet sphere in the interior. Seeing that KU Shung-chang disclosed every detail of the internal conditions

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of the Chinese Communist Party to the Nanking government, enabled the latter to arrest many important members, and that he was appointed to an adviser of CHIANG Kai-shek in Nanking as well as the head of the reformatory of the Chinese communists in return for his service, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communists became very much offended with him for this betrayal. They sought vengeance upon KU, and strangled his elder brother and three other members of the family at the end of June of the same year in French concession. They have also committed ruthless murders twice, victims being three of KU's family and his wife and three others in the French concession and the common concession respectively within a couple of weeks following the above incident.

Ref Ha # 957-B

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, MAIASHI, Kaoru, who occupy the post of Chief of Document Bureau of Foreign Ministry, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 5 pages and entitled "The Outlook of Communist Movement in China and Manchuria" is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government (The Foreign Ministry).

certified at Tokyo,

on this 14th day of March, 1947

MAIASHI, Kaoru

(seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

at the same place,

on this same date "

Witness

URABE, Katsuna.

(seal)

昭和七年十二月現在

支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況

外務省亞細亞局

第一章 第一節 「中露共產黨」の沿革

第七 李立三路線の修正

(二二四頁—二八頁)

茲ニ於テ滿洲ハ詳細ナル報告ヲ「コミンテルン」ニ致シ李立三一派ノ行
動抑制ヲ訴ヘタルヲ以テ「コミンテルン」ニ於テモ直ニ執行委員會及中
共黨中央委員會莫斯科代表團會議ヲ開催シ其ノ共同決議ヲ以テ中露共
産黨ニ對シ李立三路線及前記一九三〇年九月三中全會ノ諸議ヲ指導シ將來
ノ方針ヲ示シタル宿命ヲ與ヘタリ

石指令ハ一九三〇年十一月十六日到着シタルカ先ツ第一段ニ於テ
→ 支那各地ニ於ケル革命運動ノ過往ハ千差萬別ニシテ從テ一省々ハ収管
ニ於テ勝利ヲ得タリトテ直チニ全國革命成就セリト看做シ難キコト
→ 労働運動カ農民運動ニ比シテ發展速キコト

LN 95-4-13

Cancelled

昭和七年十二月現在

支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況

外務省東亞部

第一章 第一節 「中露共產黨ノ沿革」ニ就テ

第七 李立三路線ノ修正

(二一四頁―二一八頁)

茲ニ於テ極東國ハ詳細ナル報告ヲ「コミンテルン」ニ送シ李立三一派ノ行動抑訓ヲ詠ヘタルヲ以テ「コミンテルン」ニ於テモ直ニ執行委員會及中露共産黨中央委員會莫斯科代表團會議ヲ開催シ其ノ共同決議ヲ以テ中露共産黨ニ對シ李立三路線及前記一九三〇年九月三中金會ノ錯誤ヲ指摘シ將來ノ方針ヲ示シタル指令ヲ與ヘタリ

右指令ハ一九三〇年十一月十六日到着シタルカ先ツ第一段ニ於テ

→ 支那各地ニ於ケル革命運動ノ過往ハ千差萬別ニシテ從テ一省ヲハ裁省

ニ於テ勝利ヲ待タリトテ直チニ全中國革命成就セリト看做シ難キコト

→ 労働運動カ農民運動ニ比シテ發展遲キコト

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⑤工業及至商業中心ニ於ケル市街主路ノ勢力大ナルコト

④「ソヴィエト」區域ノ組織長才ナラサルコト

③紅軍ノ組織元カナラサルコト

カ悉ク現在ノ如キ紅軍ノ力ヲ以テシテハ新式ノ槍砲主砲重砲ヲ攻戦シ或
六部軍ノ占領ヲ企圖スルモ無益ニシテ却ツテ有害ナル其要路ヨリ大死セ
シメ徒ラニ莫大ナル損害ヲ被ルノミナルニ向ラス乎立三一般ハ以上ノ如
キ現狀ヲ省ミス徒ラニ幻影ニ惑ハレタルモノナリトテ其ノ要路ヲ守固シ
タル上將來ノ方針トシテ左ノ三點ヲ指示セリ

①速ニ増強ナル工廠軍ヲ編成シ先ツ其ノ兵力ヲ増強ス乃至三萬ニ

達セシムルト共ニ一國メハ敵國ノ「ソヴィエト」區域中ニ其ノ地

固ナル物質的基礎ヲ建立スルコト

②「ソヴィエト」區域ニ速ニ工作能力アル「ソヴィエト」政府ヲ設

ク其重要員ヲシテ其ノ大多数ヲ占メシムル其外ノ工廠兵力ノ増強

分子ヲ培養シテ之ニ参加セシメ其ノ土地革命ヲ實現シ中農、貧農ニ

其利益ヲ正達ナル經濟政策ヲ實施スルコト

③非「ソヴィエト」區域ニ於テハ經濟的闘争ニ向ヒテ總策ヲ展開スル

454-13

コトヨリナ労働関係、社管立法等労働者ニ對スル一切ノ權利ヲ以テ之
 濟事、出資結ヲラシメ、何ニ於テ農民運動ヲ相長シ、労働者等ヲ
 支セシメ、又重税、賦課中ニ其生活ノ努力ヲ支援シ、農民ノ生活ヲ
 シ以テ「ソヴィエト」區域ニ對スル運動ノ發動ヲラシムルコト
 十一月二十五日ノ中央政治局會議ニ於テ右等決議ノ決定ヲ見タル結果
 乎立三八國政治局ヨリ選出タルモスクワ内ニハ乎立三將領ヲ選出スルモノ
 カラサリシヲ以テ、乎立三派ハ第四次中央委員會議ニ出席スルモノ
 方針ヲ決定スルト共ニ第七次全蘇代表大會ノ召集事項ヲ議スヘキヲ要力
 主張シ、正ノ結果「コミンテルン」ハ第四次全蘇代表大會ノ召集ヲ命シタリ
 既テ中ニ其後、中央委員會議、政治局ハ一九三一年一月十六日、上議ニ於テ
 第四次中央委員會議、大會ヲ開キ、協定ノ案を「コミンテルン」ノ指令ヲ容
 認シ、之ニ基キテ新方針ヲ決定スルト共ニ幹部ノ改選ヲ行ヒタル結果、
 長岡思軒一名ヲ選シ、乎立三、周思來、瞿秋白等ハ選ク排斥セラレタリ
 茲ニ於テ乎立三及瞿秋白ハ責任ヲ感シ、各々四中全會ニ對シ自己ノ聲明ヲ
 承認セル聲明書ヲ提出シタルカ、然モナク乎立三八老黨代表團ノ一員トシテ

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莫新科ニ召寄せラレ同思愛、同思來、銀龍玉、沈瀝民等諸ニ幹部ヲ形成
シタリ

尙副記一九三〇年五月「ソグイエト」風電代表大官ヲ央選ニ派キ同年九
月以テ其電ニ中央官廳ノ下ニ第一回「ソグイエト」全一代表ハ其組織ニ
對スル通達ヲラレ翌年二月七日上海ニ於テ之ヲ開キスルコトニ決意セ
ラレ所リタルカ如キモ右ニ先チ一九三一年一月初石通達委員會ニ所
カ共ニ視界工部局ニ手入スル所トナリ來會中ノ代表者ノ大ニ其
中選補既彼ヲラレタル結果其期延期ノ已ム所ニ至レルヲ以テ一大
中會ハ江西「ソグイエト」風電内ニ於テ「ソグイエト」中央政府立
以通達委員會ヲ江西ニ進行セシメタリ

第八内訌及官意ノ彈壓ニ因ル事ノ打撃

張大帥中金龍ノ新榮季立三、重次日、思來セハ得レモ失シタルカ一
九二七年八七緊要會議以來、三箇年同ノ事ヲ爲セタリシ季立三ノ能力
ハ意トニ員ヲニシテ新中央ト稱召力ニ之ヲ進メスルヲカレニ加ヘ三甲
金龍ノ前線ヲ進シ張玉一派ニ討シ敗モ沈黙ナル反討ヲ爲シ來レル極
三、張玉、仙夢ノ三派對立シ張玉派ノ密告ニ依リ一九三一年
一月十七日ヨリ二十一日ニ至リ仙夢等々初メ其ノ一派三五名カ
當局ノ機密ニ依リ上海共産黨界工部局ニ手ニ入ラセラルルニ及ビ各
派内訌ハ益々大セリ

地方ノ民政府ニ於テハ一九二七年ノ共産黨大暴動ニ於テモ引退セシカ
取寄ニ努メ來リ（紐車寸改ニシテハ別ニ記述ス）（第二編第二卷六
頁）其ノ表ニ於レバ一九三〇年ニ於テ急増セル共産黨員五七二
浙江省ニ二六名、江蘇省一五八名外合計一五四九名ノ多額ニ上リ一九
三一年ニ於テモ上海三四五名漢口三二〇名外合計九六〇名ノ共産黨員ヲ

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讀シタル事ナルカ就中右一九三一年一月上ニ於ケル何夢羅一派ノ檢
 一ニ端ヨリ得タル國民政府ヨリ同年六月三日漢口ニ於テ反對勢力復興
 ノ爲メ中央ヨリ派派セラレタル中央執行委員會委員有姓章ヲ李立三派ノ
 首魁ニ其キテ逮捕シ更ニ其ノ兵連ニ依リテ同年二月二十一日中ノ共產黨書記
 長田光澄ヲ上海ニ於テ逮捕シ二十三日之ヲ銃殺シタルノミナラス其多
 數ノ重要黨員ヲ殺害シ且各黨ノ重要人物ヲ殺害スルコトヲ爲タリ
 又上海共黨組織工部局ニ於テモ新嘉坡警察ノ照會ニ應テ六月十五日
 「コミンテルン」機關報ガ局並汎太平洋勞務聯合書記局長「ヌーラン」
 ヲ逮捕シタルカ（孫文ノ宋亡人案處置其他ノ保護運動ニ依リ「ヌーラン」
 ハ死刑ヲ受レ一九三二年八月十九日江蘇高等法院ニ於テ終身刑ニ處セ
 ラレ）（第二所第一款第二參照）其ノ他天津及漢口ニ於テモ有力共產黨員
 ニシテ國民政府ヨリ派派セラレタルモノカラス
 是等逮捕セラレタル者ハ一九二八年三月七日ノ實行反革命治罪法及一九
 三一年一月一日同法ニ代ツテ施行セラレタル危害國民一罪法治罪法ニ依リ
 逮捕セラレタルカ其後國民政府ノ秘書長張作霖トナリ

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共産黨員ノ某部ノミナラフ將介石ノ協助政權ノ先驅ニ任シタリ
 斯クノ如ク有力共産黨員ノ派部元中、諸報章ノ暴切ハ卒立三名連署正ニ
 伴フ共産黨部ノ内訌ト共ニ中ニ共産黨ニ不協有キヲ與ヘ中央委員ノ大部
 分ハ一時異地「ソヴィエト」風氣ニ逃避スルノ已ムナキニ至レルカ
 章カ南京政府ニ對シ中ニ共産黨ノ内訌ヲ悉ク暴露シ結果其共産黨員ノ
 可成ナラシメタル代價トシテ南京ニ於テ將介石ノ質問ニ正セラレ中
 共産黨員感化所々受トナルヲ見ルヤ中共中央ハ大イニ其ノ背信ヲ怒リ
 ニ對スル復讐ヲ企テ同年六月末祖界内ニ於テ其ノ兄弟家族三名ヲ殺殺
 シ其後十數日ノ間二回ニ且ハ祖界及共同祖界内ニ於テ其ノ家族三名及
 妻外三名ニ對シ夫々殺忍ナル殺害ヲ加ヘタリ

文書ノ出所並ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

自分、林 慶ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處茲ニ添付セラレタル
日本語ニ依ツテ書カレ五頁ヨリ成ル支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況ト
關スル書類ハ日本政府（外務省）ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ拔取ノ正當ニシ
テ眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年三月十四日

於東京

林

慶

157-6
本書名案印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ
同日於同所

立會人

浦部 勝 馬

THE OUTLINE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS IN CHINA & MANCHURIA
(as of December, 1932)

The Asia Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Excerpts from "The organization of the Chinese Communist Party and its auxiliary Organs."

(Chapter I, Section 2, Clause 1)

II. Guidance given by the Comintern to the Chinese Communist Party.
(P. 38 - 42)

The Chinese Communist Party usually maintains contact with the Third Internationale through such organs as mentioned follows; the Comintern's Far Eastern Bureau at Shanghai, its branch at Tientsin, the Manchuria Province Committee of the Soviet Union's Communist Party at Harbin, the Far Eastern Propaganda Section at Khabarovsk and the Chinese Section in the Far Eastern District Commission of C.P.S.U.(TN: Dalikraikom) at Vladivostok. With the Profintern, (TN: The Internationale of professional unions) the party communicates through the Secretariat of the Pan-Pacific Labor Union in Shanghai. The route of communication mostly utilized by the party members seems to be the one from Shanghai to Moscow via Vladivostok. However, with the recent progress of bolshevization in the hinterlands it seems that a method of communication by way of Central Asia or Outer Mongolia is now being considered. Meanwhile, representatives of the Chinese Communist Party are permanently stationed in Moscow for maintaining liaison. Furthermore, the Far Eastern University (which is also called Sun Yatzen or Chungshan University) is a source of constant supply of fresh party members who rendered great services to the development of the Chinese Communist Party as expressly written in the fore going Section 1.

Among the abovementioned liaison organs the Far Eastern Bureau occupies the most important position. The Comintern sent its agents to Shanghai in the beginning, but, later, following the opening of the Sino-Soviet relations, an organ for Bolshevik propaganda in the Far East was established within Soviet Consulate-General in Shanghai, and placing this organ under the leadership of the Comintern's Politbureau had the staff members of the consulate give directions to a large number of agents and "chekas". After the rupture of the diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and China, the staff of consulategeneral in Shanghai was obliged to evacuate. Before then on May 20, 1927, the first inaugural meeting of the Pan-Pacific Labor Union was held in Hankow under the direction of the Profintern. Since then the Pan-Pacific Labor Union took charge of the control and guidance of communistic labor movements in the Far East. In August, 1928, the second general meeting of the Union was held at Vladivostok. During these years its secretariat continuously was being kept at Shanghai, under the charge of an American communist named Earl Browder.

In the meantime the Comintern came to regard it necessary to create an organ in the Far East similar to the Western European Bureau in Berlin and, set up about the middle of 1929, the Far Eastern Bureau in Shanghai. The American communist Earl Browder was concurrently appointed as the secretary of this bureau. As Earl Browder returned to Moscow after having attended the second general meeting of the Pan-Pacific Labor Union held at Vladivostok, a successor by the name of Noulens came over to Shanghai to assume concurrently the posts of the secretary of the Far Eastern Bureau and of the secretariat of the Pan-Pacific Labor Union. He was very active in bolshevizing oriental countries and, above all, China. But on June 15, 1931, Noulens was arrested by the Shanghai Municipal Council police of the International Settlement, the circumstances of which event are related in Section 1.

It is to be noted that the reason why the Comintern located its headquarters for the bolshevik activities in the East in Shanghai and later in

Tientsin despite various vicissitudes is that those places, being large international cities with foreign concessions, accorded facilities of free circulation and meeting to the party members.

The true aspect and activities of the Far Eastern Bureau are partly shown in the findings against Noulens (See Note) by the Kiangsu High Court of Justice on August 18, 1932. According to the same findings the Bolshevization activities of the Far Eastern Bureau had not been limited to China alone but actually extended over the whole of the Far East, including Japan, Korea, Formosa, Indo-China, the Philippines, the Malay Archipelago and India. The methods of contact between the Far Eastern Bureau and the communist parties in these territories consisted of the exchange of messengers, opening a number of P.O. Boxes at the Shanghai Post Office (as previously mentioned) and receiving coded telegrams by using cable addresses of business companies or firms. It is reported that the method of direct communication by shortwave between Moscow and Shanghai is also being used recently. It is needless to say that the communications of such nature will become extremely easy after the resumption of the Sino-Soviet diplomatic relations.

(Note) 1. The passage in the findings of the Kiangsu High Court of Justice with respect to Noulens's career reads as follows:

"Noulens is a former member of the Third Internationale. He was despatched by the same party to China in March, 1930 to become the chief of its Far Eastern Bureau and engage in communistic activities in China. In Shanghai he rented at several places within the city including No. 235, Ssuehuan Road, No. C-30 upstairs, of No. 49, Nanking-lu, No. 74, Hungyeh Garden, Yuyuan Road, and No. 66, Robert Hart Road, in order to use them as dwellings as well as offices. He also obtained Eight P.O. boxes had four registrations made at the China Radio Telegram Office all of which were employed as media of communication for Communist Party. In party with such rebels as Chu Te, Mas Tse-tung and Ho Lung, Noulens instigated riots in

Hunan and Kiangsi Provinces as well as corrupted local areas. Noulens dispatched units of the 7th and 20th of the Red Army to Taiho and Sushu (both place names are phonetically spelt) in Kiangsi Province, and also to other provinces such as Fukien, Hunan, Kwangtung and Kwangsi in order to stir up disturbances in those areas and carry out attacks against the Nationalist troops. Furthermore, Communist party members were also sent to Nanking for instigating rebellion among the troops of the Air Station, mechanics, pilots, navigators and members of guard units with a view to strengthening the power of the Communist Party. Noulens also proposed to establish a Soviet district in the intersecting area of Honan, Anhui and Hupei Provinces and divided the money he received from the Third Internationale among those local organs such as the Southern Office, (EN:South China) the Changkiang Office, the Northern Office and the Kiangnan Office.

He also instigated the masses of farmers and workers through those organs to give rise to a new trend for revolution and class strife. Moreover, Noulens stirred up workmen and disturbed public order. He gave publicity to the numerous slogans, such as "Down with the Kuomintang!", "Expel puppets of the Kuomintang and Imperialism!", "Protect the Chinese Revolution!", "Protect Soviet China!" Moreover, all communist movements in India, the Philippines, the Malay Archipelago, Korea, Annam and Japan were placed, without exception, under his control. The S.M.C. police of the International Settlement detected Noulens activities in June, 1931 and arrested him on June 15 in the house at No. 235, Sun Chuan Road. The police then searched every house he rented and in the building at No. 49, Nanking Road, it unlocked the room No. C-30 with a key which Noulens carried with him and took out three iron boxes from a cupboard made into the wall of the apartment. In those boxes were found a great number of documents which constituted evidences of offense in the present case as well as four envelopes. Three of the envelopes^e contained respectively sums of 800 American dollars, 150 Japanese yen and 6,84 Chinese yuan prior to this, at the time noulens was sent to China to become the head of the Far Eastern

Bureau, the Third Internationale dispatched a female Communist Party member by the name of Wanderkreussen and had her reside at the same address with Noulens so that she may watch his activities and participate in his confidential affairs. The police found a letter in French from Wanderkreussen when they searched the room No. C-30 at No. 49, Nanking Road. The letter read to the effect that she would have a conference with Noulens in the above-said room at two o'clock that afternoon. Whereupon, the detectives closed the gate and hid themselves inside the house to wait for Wanderkreussen's arrival. At the time of the appointment, Wanderkreussen arrived as they had expected. The police arrested her immediately as she unlocked the door with her key and came into the room"....^{and so on}

(Note) 2. Noulens had the use of eight P.O. boxes and all of them were being used separately for different purposes and for communicating with the communist parties in the regions including Japan, Korea, Formosa, China, the Philippines, Indo-China and the Strait Settlements. For example, of the two boxes "1077" and "1382" were employed solely for communicating with the Japanese Communist Party, the former being used for the purpose of receiving the party's publications and other important documents and the latter for correspondence concerning the comings and goings of messengers and so forth.

Although the sum of money which is being supplied by the Comintern to the Chinese Communist Party is not clearly known, some say that the headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party received from the Comintern about a half of its expenses since last year in spite of its principle of self-sufficiency. In other words, it is estimated that about 15,00⁰ U.S. dollars were being received per month.

Judging from the documents found in Noulens's possession, the amount which he had spent during the nine months, between October 1930 and the time he was arrested in June of the next year, seems not to have been less than a million Mexican dollars. The money was remitted from Berlin through the Bank of Italy under the pretence that it was to be used for commercial purposes.

Concerning the Propaganda expenses of Comintern before the outbreak of the Manchuria Incident some say that the Comintern defrayed 650,000 yuan for the expenses of the Chinese Communist Party, 250,000 yuan respectively to its Kiangnan, Changkiang and South China Offices, 120,000 yuan respectively to its North China and Manchuria Offices and 400,000 yuan monthly as the military expenses of the Chinese Red Army. It is said that those expenses were paid through smugglers or traders' associations. It is certain that the financing of the funds of such nature will also be facilitated by the expansion of international trade, which is to be expected following the resumption of the Russo-Chinese diplomatic relations.

(THE END)

No. 1

Defence Doc. 959-C

文書、出所並ニ成立ニ関スル証明書

(三三三)

自分、林馨ハ、外務省文書課長、職ニ在ル者ナル処、
茲ニ添付セラレタル日本語ニ依ツテ書カレ四頁ヨリ成ル
支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況ト題スル書
其ハ日本政府(外務省)、保管ニ係ル公文書ノ抜萃
ト確ニシテ眞實ナル事トナシタルコトヲ証明ス

昭和三十三年三月十四日

於東京

林馨 (林)

右署名捺印ハ自分、面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

立會人 浦部勝馬 (浦部)

No. 1

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同日於同所

立會人 浦部勝馬 (浦部)

昭和七年十二月現在

293

支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況

外務省亜細亞局

第一章第二節第一款「中國共產黨」

其ノ補助機關ノ組織「抜萃」

第二「コミンテルン」ノ中國共產黨ニ對スル指導狀況

(三八頁—四二頁)

中國共產黨「カ第三「インターナショナル」ト連絡スルニ當リ、上海ニ在ル「コミンテルン」極東局、天津ニ在ル其ノ分局、哈爾濱ニ在ル蘇聯邦共產黨滿洲省委員會「バロフスク」ノ極東宣傳部、浦潮ノ全蘇聯邦共產黨遠東地方委員會中國部等ノ諸機關ヲ連絡スルヲ常トシ又「プロフィンテルン」トノ間ハ上海汎太平洋労働組合書記局ヲ通スルモノトス而シテ上海莫斯科間ニ於ケル黨員ノ連絡系統ハ多ク上海—浦潮—莫斯科經由ニ依ルモノノ如ク、五モ近時奧地ノ赤化ニ連レ中央亞細亞又ハ外蒙古ニ依ル連絡方法モ考究セラレフ、アルカ如シ一方莫斯科ハ中國共產黨ノ代表者常駐シテ其連絡ニ當ル外有名ナル極東大學(孫逸仙大學)又ハ中山大學ナトモ稀スアリテ不斷ニ新鮮ナル黨員ヲ供給シ居レリ是等ノ黨員カ中國共產黨全辰上寄與スル所如何ニ大ナリシヤハ第一節ニ記述セル所ニ依リ明カナリシ以上連絡機關中最モ重要ナル地位ニ在ルモノハ極東局ナリコミンテルンハ當初上海ニ派遣員ヲ置キ次テ蘇支國交開始後ハ在上海蘇聯邦總領事館内ニ極東赤化宣傳機關ヲ設ケ「コミンテルン」政治局(「ポリトビュロー」)指導ノ下ニ會員ヲシテ數多ノ派遣員「エウ」等ヲ指揮セシメタリ蘇支斷交

Ref Doc # 959-C1

No. 3

在
後上海總領事館（引揚）色（キ）三三（カ）上（リ）先一九三三年五月三十
日漢口（シ）於（テ）フ（ア）ン（ニ）テ（シ）指揮（シ）下（ニ）汎（フ）太平洋労働組合（ヲ）
同創立大會（ヲ）開（キ）爾（レ）來（ニ）同組合（ハ）東洋方面（ニ）於（テ）其（ノ）色（ヲ）
労働運動（ヲ）統率指導（シ）任（シ）一九三九年八月浦潮（ニ）テ（モ）同大會（ヲ）
開催（シ）其（ノ）其（ノ）向（ニ）引續（キ）書記局（ヲ）上海（ヲ）上海（ニ）置（キ）米（ノ）共產黨（ヲ）
員（「ブラダール」）（Earl Browder）（ト）ル者（ノ）之（ノ）責任者（ト）キ（モ）其（ノ）
向（ニ）コミンテルン（ニ）於（テ）ハ、柏林（ニ）在（ル）西欧局（Western European
Bureau）（ニ）對應（シ）極東（ニ）於（テ）モ同様（ノ）機関（ヲ）設（ケ）ル（ニ）テ（モ）
必要（ト）認（ム）ル（ニ）至（リ）一九三九年八月（ヨリ）上海（ニ）極東局（即（チ）Eastern
Bureau）（ト）モ（テ）設（ケ）其（ノ）書記（ハ）前記（ノ）米（ノ）共產黨（ノ）黨員（ト）
兼任（セリ）「ブラダール」（ハ）其（ノ）後（ハ）前記（ノ）浦潮（ニ）於（テ）モ（モ）同汎（フ）太平
洋労働組合大會（ニ）出席（シ）タル後莫斯科（ニ）歸（リ）任（セ）ル（ニ）テ（モ）
其（ノ）後（ハ）任（シ）テ（モ）後（ハ）「ヌーランド」（Kuland）（ト）モ（モ）米（ノ）極東局（並
汎（フ）太平洋労働組合書記局書記（ヲ）兼任（シ）東洋、執事（ト）ヌ（ル）赤化
ニ活躍（シ）タル（カ）一九三二年六月十五日上海（ニ）於（テ）共同租界工部局警察
ニ依（リ）逮捕（セ）ラル（ニ）至（リ）次（ニ）オ（ハ）オ（ハ）一節（ニ）記（ス）述（セ）通（リ）ナリ（「コミンテルン」
ノ）幾（ノ）多（ク）變遷（シ）ニ拘（ル）ス東洋赤化（ハ）本據（ヲ）上海（ニ）置（キ）又（モ）近（ク）其（ノ）分（ヲ）
天津（ニ）設（ケ）ル（ニ）至（リ）理由（ハ）甚（シ）ニ是（レ）等（ノ）地方（ニ）國際（的）大都會（ニ）テ（モ）
外國租界（ノ）存在（スル）關係（上）黨員（ノ）出入（會）合（ニ）便（ナ）ル（カ）爲（メ）
ニ外（ニ）テ（モ）認（ム）ラル（ニ）
極東局（ハ）實（ニ）相（並）ニ其（ノ）活動（狀況）ハ（「前記」）又（「三三」）（註（二））ニ於（テ）
一九三三年八月十九日江蘇高等法院（ノ）判決文（ニ）依（リ）更（ニ）一班
ヲ（「規（ル）知（ル）」）得（ヘ）シ（之）ニ據（ル）極東局（ハ）獨（リ）支（那）ノミ（ナ）ラ（ス）日本、
朝鮮、台灣、印度支那、比律賓、馬來群島及印度等
極東（一）帶（ヲ）赤化（ニ）從（サ）シ（末（ニ）モ）ナリ（而（シ）テ）極東局（ハ）定（年）
ノ各國（又（ハ）地方）共產黨（上）連絡（ス）方法（ハ）使者（ノ）往來（ニ）依（シ）テ（モ）外（上）

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doc
def
No. 4

郵便局内ニ數多ク私書函(P.O.Box)ヲ設テ前記又
各會社商店名義、電信アドリスニ依リ暗号電信ヲ受
理スル、外最近ハ短波ニ依リ莫斯科上海間、直接通信
方法モ利用セリト居リト傳ヘラル、蘇支復交ノ概ハ斯レ通
信ハ極メテ容易トナルヘキハ言フ條タス
(註一)前記江蘇高等法院判決中又、ラ、之、經歷ニ關スル部令
ヲ摘出スルハ、如シ
中國ハ原トオ三國際共產黨員ニシテ同黨ヨリ派遣セラレ其
ノ極東局ノ主任トナリ、民國十九年三月中國ニ來リ、共產工作ニ從事
セリ上海ニ於テハ四川路二百三十五号、南京路四十九号樓上シ二十号
愚公園路安泰莊花園七十号、蘇德路六十六号等、家屋ヲ借りテ住
居及事務所トナシ、並ニ郵便局私書函八個ヲ借り、中國無線電
報局三四個、登録ヲ爲シテ共產黨ニ通信、用ニ供シ、一面救徒朱
德毛澤東項龍等ト結託シ、湖南江西等ニ於テ大ニ暴動ヲ肆
ニシ、地方ヲ廢爛セルト同時、他方紅軍第七軍亦二十軍等、部隊ヲ
分派シ江西省、泰、地、名、詠、音、(調、樹、戎、名、詠、音)福建湖南廣
等ノ、又ニ於テ擾亂工作ニ從事シ、國軍ニ對シテ奮然奮テ加ヘ、並ニ愛
員ヲ派遣シテ南京ニ赴カシメ、航空署ノ兵士機械工飛行員及
整備隊整備隊等軍人ノ救済ヲ煽動シ、以テ自己ノ實力ヲ増大
セリ、又河南安徽湖北等ノ交界ニソグエト、區域ヲ籌備スルヲ
建議シ、第三國際ヨリ領收セル金錢ヲ所設、南方局長江局北方
局江南局各機關ニ分配シ、農民民衆ヲ煽動シ、革命、新風潮ヲ
揚起シ、階級闘争ヲ暴起セシメ、此外工人ヲ煽動シ、秩序ヲ破壞シ、
國民院ヲ打倒セ、國民院及帝室主義ヲ走狗ヲ驅逐セシ

Key. doc 959-c

NO 5

中華革命ヲ擁護セヨ「中華」ソダエト「擁護セヨ」等、口号ヲ普及スル
ルキ「三」ヲ足ラサルナリ、即チ印度、暹羅、馬來群島、朝鮮、安南
日本等、共產黨運動モ亦トシ、其ノ支配ヲ受ケサルナリ、民國二十年
六月、同上、上海共同租界工部局警署、探知スル所ナリ、即チ同月十五
日、四川路二百三十五号之家庭内ニ於テハ、陳推府推セル鐵ヲ以テシ、三十号
ノ門ヲ開キ、該室ノ壁ニ作レタルヤ、櫃ヨリ鐵箱三個ヲ取出シタルハ、此
中ニ本事件ノ犯罪證據ニ関スル文書甚ク多ク、並ニ封筒四個アリ、
其ノ一ニ米價金、金部一ニハ、日本金百五十円一ニハ、銀六元、分四、分ヲ藏
セリ、之ヨリ先チ陳推府推セル鐵箱局主仕ナリタル時、中ニ國際
同時ニ女子共產黨員、汪精衛利會（ワシグレルイセ）ヲ派遣シ、中
陳ヲ監視シ、生陳ト同居シ、機密ヲ悉知セシメタリ、上海共同租界
工部局警署、南京路四十九号（三十号）室ヲ搜查セ、際ニ汪精衛利會
ノ佛文書信一枚ヲ発見セ、右書信ハ同日午後二時、該家庭内ニ於
テ生陳ト會談スベキヲ約シタルモノナリ、故ニ該探偵等、其ノ門ヲ開
シ、内ニ潛ミ、靜ニ汪精衛利會ヲ到ルヲ待タタリ、果シテ其ノ時ニ至ルヤ
同處ニ現ハレ、自己ノ鐵箱ヲ以テ其ノ部屋ヲ開キ、室内ニ入リタルニ依リ、直
チ逮捕セリ、云々
（註）又「三」ハ、同、私書函ヲ有シ、朝鮮、臺支、比、印度支那、海峽
殖民地等、各國、又ハ各地共產黨別並使用別ニ依リ、使用函ヲ
異ニシ例ハ、右ノ中「〇」及「三」ハ、等ヲ日本共產黨ト、連絡ニ
使用スル者、機關紙、其ノ他、重要文書受理ノ爲、又又者、使者
ノ往來等、場合、連絡ノタメ、使用セリト云フ

Ref Doc 959-C

No. 6

「コミンテルン」が中国の産物たる紙幣の發行の機許ナリヤハ
明瞭ナリモ二説ニ依リハ先年未ダ國庫に産物、經費ハ自
給自足ナリ原則トシ居ルカ中共中央ハ其ノ經費、約半額ヲ
「コミンテルン」ヨリ支給セラルツアリ大體毎月一五〇。米金計
タル趣ミ又則記又「ラニ」所持書類ヨリ推察スルモ一九
年十月以降翌年六月逮捕セラルル迄約九ヶ月間三月五
セル金額（墨銀）。專断ニ下ラサルカ如ク其ノ送金ハ御太
利銀行經由ニ由ルヨリ来シモ、ナルカ表面、使途ハ商用
ナリ又滿洲事変前ニ於ケル「コミンテルン」宣傳費ニ際シ
説ニ據リ、受取費ニ六五萬元江上同局長江同南支
局ニ各三五萬元北支局滿洲局ニ各二萬元宛支出セ
外紅軍經費トシテ毎月四〇萬元ヲ支出シ是等、費用
ハ密報或ハ貿易組合等ノ手ヲ通シテ支給セラルト稱セ
ラル最近、露露又國交恢復ニ伴ヒ豫期セラルル通商貿易
増大ハ此種資金、融通ヲモテ容易ナラシムナリヤ必ヤリ。

Translated by
Defense Language Branch

THE STATE OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN CHINA AND MANCHURIA
AS OF DECEMBER, THE 7th YEAR OF SHOWA (1932)

Compiled by Bureau of Asiatic Affairs,
Japanese Foreign Office.

Chapter One.

Paragraph Two. The Organization of the Chinese Communist
Party and its Present Status.

Section Three. "Soviet" Government (Excerpt from P. 154 to 163.)

1. Calamities caused by Communistic bandits.

Calamities caused by Communistic bandits in Kiangsi Province as made public
by the Nanking Central Daily News, Nationalist Party organ, dated June 25,
1932, reads as follows:---

Statistics on Communist Bandit Outrages in Kiangsi Province.
(published in the Anti-Communism Semi-monthly, August issue)

Name of prefecture	Times of Occupation by bandits	Casualties	Number of houses burnt	Property, Damage Yuan
CHIAN	1	20,000	5,000	30,000,000
CHISHUI	1	7,000	30,000	30,000,000
ICHUN	2	10,000	4,500	32,000,000
LIENHUI	Not recovered	30,000	8,000	2,000,000
FENI	19	12,996	9,518	4,568,793
CHINGCHANG	2	-	12	1,230,000
YUNGHSIN	not recovered	50,000	10,000	24,000,000
WAILIN	2	5,000	1,000	2,000,000
HSIUCHIN	1	-	-	200,000
NINGLING	not recovered	12,000	5,000	100,000
TAIHO	-	14,900	6,300	5,800,000
WANNIEN	1	20,000	5,000	1,000,000
YUICHI	4	2,000	1,000	2,500,000
KIUKIANG	-	1,000	500	500,000
TUCHANG	-	-	-	-
POYANG	2	1,000	380	4,430,000
YUKIANG	1	5,000	3,000	3,000,000
FENGTSI	2	100	-	100,000
TENSING	1	17,300	23,200	34,001,000

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TUNGKU	6	15,000	8,000	10,000,000
TYANG	3	30,000	8,000	10,000,000
* JUICHLANG	2	5,000	2,000	1,000,000
CHIHSI	1	50	20	100,000
NANCHENG	1	300	100	3,000,000
NANFENG	3	16,000	5,000	5,000,000
YUISHAN	1	several hundreds	several hundreds	700,000
KWANGFENG	-	700	1,000	600,000
KWANGCHUNG	not recovered	tens of thousands	-	-
HSIUSHUI	7	100,000	90,000	80,000,000
LINCHUAN	-	1,000	400	10,000,000
CHUNGJEN	1	50	60	300,000
LICHUAN	1	100	18	3,000,000
HSINYUI	3	5,000	4,000	innumerable
HSIAKIANG	7	5,000	1,000	10,000,000
ANFU	3	30,000	2,000	3,000,000
SHANGKLO	2	100	50	1,000,000
KANHSIEN	-	4,000	1,000	4,000,000
SHICHENG	not recovered	10,000	3,000	20,000,000
NANKANG	9	2,000	2,000	16,000,000
HSUINWU	at times lost and then recovered	25,000	about $\frac{7}{10}$	4,000,000
NINOTU	not recovered	21,000	149,700	35,000,000

JUICHIN	not recovered	20,000	5,000	30,000,000
YUITU	not recovered	40,000	1,000	60,000,000
TAIYUI	4	1,000	1,000	80,000,000
ANYUAN	not recovered	20,000	3,000	50,000,000
SHINGYUI	not recovered	60,000	4,000	50,000,000
CHONGI	9	2,700	2,000	50,000,000
HUICHANG	not recovered	40,000	2,000	33,600,000
HSINGKUO	not recovered	40,000	1,000	20,000,000
ANI	1	50	2	120,000
HSINTZU	1	4,000	11,170	3,130,000
*JUICHANG	2	5,000	2,000	100,000
FULLING	3	630	100	35,000,000
HSINFENG	3	10,000	10,000	90,000,000
TINONAN	1	-	-	-
TUNGSIANG	-	50	scores	40,000
HUNGFEI	1	50,000	about $\frac{2}{10}$	incalculable
JAOIN	30	5,000	3,000	30,000,000
KUEHSI	-	500	5,000	5,000,000
CHIESHAN	-	10,000	1,000	500,000

*T.N: JUICHANG Prefecture is enumerated twice in this table,
presumably by mistake.

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Furthermore, according to "CANTONG Min-kuo Jipao," or "Canton Daily News of Republic of China", dated July 15, 1932, the number of refugees in CANTONG Province who appealed for relief amounted to over 570,000 during the period from January to March, 1932. Details are as shown in the following table.

Statics of Refugees in KILANGSI Province (Jan. Feb. Mar.)

Name of Prefecture from where refugee came	Force of Refuge	Found Number of Refugees
LIENHUI	PINGHSIANG, HUNAN Province, KANCHANG	42,000
YUNGHSIN	YUNSIEN, CHINGSHI, HSIANGTAN	9,100
CHISHUI	CHIAN, KANCHANG	tens of thousands
PINGHSIANG	Town Area, YUNAN, HSIANGTUNG	50,000
TAIHO	KANCHOW, CHIAN	4,000
TUNGKU	CHIAN, KANCHANG	4,000
ANFU	CHIAN and its adjacent prefecture	5,000
YUITU	KANCHOW, CANTON, KANCHANG	31,000
HSINGKUC	KANCHOW, CHIAN, TAIYUI	20,600
HUICHANG	CANTON	1,000
JUICHIN	CANTON, FIKSYUAN	6,000
ANYUAN	MINHSUIN	15,000
NINGTU	KANCHOW, CHIAN, Northern CANTON Province	35,500
SHENJAO	YUISHAN, JAOCHOW, CHIEKIAN	50,000
KUEHSI	Town area	400
TERSING	Prefectures in CHIEKIAN Province	65,000

CHIENSILAN	Town Area and adjacent prefectures	4,000
JAOLIN	JAOCHOW and adjacent prefectures	not reported
IYANG	MANCHUNG	500
KUANGFENG	Border of CHEMLING and FUKIEN Provinces, and FUCHANG	several thousands
WANHIEN	JAOCHOW and adjacent prefectures	20,200
JAOFING	Town Area, CHINTECHEN	500
LICHUAN	NAIFENG, LINCHUAN	3,000
KUANGCHANG	NAICHENG, FUCHOW, Western FUKIEN Province	24,000
THUNG	Town Area, LINCHUAN	5,200
SHICHENG	Mountains on the border of FUKIEN Province	10,000
TUNGKU	WANTAI and HUNAN Province	6,000
JUICHANG	Town Area	several hundreds
HSINGTZO	Town Area	100
HSIUSHUI	Town Area and MANCHANG	3,700
WANTAI	Town Area	several hundreds

Furthermore, according to the "Hsin Minpao", Hupei Province Organ Paper, published at the end of 1932, the number of prefectures in HUBEI Province which were once occupied by the Red Armies amounts to 31 and the number of the refugees in the occupied area exceeds 3,130,000. Total number of the refugees, including those who had gone out to places outside the province and those who had come from the adjacent provinces, amounts to 4,081,000. The details are shown in the following table.

Table showing refugees from the Communist bandits
in HOPEI Province

Name of prefecture	Population in the Communist Area	Refugees gone out	Refugees come in	Total
HSIENNING	55,000	28,040	2,980	86,020
CHISHUI	1,852	2,082	3,655	7,589
CHUNGYANG	12,660	1,770	166	14,596
YUNMENG	20,000	25,000	300	45,300
HANCHUAN	306,000	55,954	-	361,954
TUNGCHENG	40,000	60,000	-	100,000
TAIYA	22,000	72,000	11,000	105,000
HUANPO	114,000	34,100	-	148,100
CHIANGLING	25,100	110,000	58,000	193,100
TSAOYANG	100,000	3,000	-	103,000
HUANKANG	-	59	1,502	1,561
SUNG Tzu	244,600	7,000	200	251,800
CHINGSHAN	90,000	50,000	5,000	145,000
YINGCHENG	99,500	44,000	8,100	151,600
TAIYANG	-	-	100	100
HSINGSHAN	12,000	803	2,180	14,983
CHINGMEN	5,680	131	1,800	7,611
ICHENG	52,450	29,080	25	81,555
PATUNG	26,000	2,400	200	28,600

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YUNHSIEN	112,000	5,500	6,200	123,700
TIENMEN	571,000	4,000	200	575,200
CHANGYANG	19,000	1,160	-	20,160
PAOKAN	2,500	-	-	2,500
HUANMEI	18,491	2,690	-	21,181
TUNGSHAN	17,729	2,764	8,543	29,036
MEICHENG	12,000	130,000	118,000	260,000
HANYANG	1,500	1,200	2,800	5,500
HSIAOKAN	242,561	1,891	368	244,820
ANLIU	-	-	-	-
HSIENFENG	-	-	-	-
KUCHENG	-	-	-	-
WUCHANG	-	5	9,799	9,804
NANCHANG	-	-	-	-
KUANGHUA	142,852	7,500	1,500	151,852
LOCHENG	250,000	360	160	250,820
TZUKUEI	-	-	-	-
LICHUAN	-	-	-	-
KUANGTSEI	366,000	1,155	660	367,815
CHICHUN	156,400	7,829	400	164,629
KUNGAN	170	50	270	490
HANKOW (City)	-	-	6,822	6,822
Total	3,139,045	691,523	251,230	4,081,798

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Furthermore, according to a written confession which is attributed to have been made by HSUI-Hsi who surrendered to the Government Army after having harassed it for long as the Chief of Staff of the Third Army Corps (under FENG-Tehui) of the Red Army (Note:-published on the NANCHANG "Minkuo Jipao" issued at the end of 1932) it is said that ---

"In the Soviet Area, as a result of numerous massacres by the Red Army, the whole country is so ruined, with houses fallen everywhere and overgrown by weeds, that no one dares to tread on the scene. Though farmlands have been allotted to farmers there is no one seen engaged in cultivation. Various taxes were abolished and a system of progressive single tax was brought in, but monthly political and military expenses for the Soviet Area in KILINGHSI Province exceed Yuan 400,000.

As money looted in FUCHOW and CHENGCHOW have been already spent, financial resources are drying up in spite of the issue of war bonds and Agricultural-Industrial Bank notes. Moreover, as the result of the blockade by the Government Army, the routes for replenishing food and salt have been cut and no hope is left of getting winter clothes and medical supplies. Four subjugating battles launched by the Government Army rendered a considerable decrease in picked troops and newly raised soldiers are still not sufficiently trained. Thus, the number of the Red Army decreased so considerably that it was about 8,000 in the Third Army-corps according to the muster for September, 1932 and it was still less in the Second and Fifth Army-corps. In addition, soldiers are paid no wages except ten sen a day as food expenses. The Red Army compels old and weak including women to make clothes and socks and requisitions fruits

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and vegetables so stringently that people conceal all grain and vegetables. Such as the state is, the people's minds are always unsettled and the loss of business capacity and the economical panic are threatening to bring in almost complete devastation."

All of this news from foreign and Government sources is supposed to be full of exaggerations through which the true facts of the Soviet political situation cannot be clearly perceived, but the actual state may be considered to lie somewhere between these reports. Namely, at the very beginning of the Soviet construction, the Red Army indulged in types of tyranny such as murder, arson and loot under the name of land revolution, overthrowing of the capitalist class and so on and realized the reign of terror aiming to suppress the reactionary regime and to supply commodities. It gave rise to many refugees. On the next stage, after the establishment of the Soviet Regime, the Communistic autocracy was staged in actuality under the name of the workers, farmers, soldiers and mass people and various reforms were brought in conforming to various regulations. In the borderland of the so-called Soviet Area, however a non-authority zone grew up as the result of the juxtaposition of the two armies. In these zones, lands were deserted and bandit infected. Considerable order was maintained in the Soviet Area, but as a result of the blockade by the Government Army, salt, cotton cloths, petroleum and machines were deficient and finance was so confused that the Soviet Government was forced to issue paper money and various kinds of compulsory bonds (Cf. photograph No. 5, 10, 11 and 13). The Red Army are also believed to have been forced to march out into the fertile zone in order to replenish supplies.

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The very difference of Soviet politics from those of military clique or Nationalist Regime lies in the execution of a "Social Revolution" which is asserted to be the vital point of Soviet politics. Its most essential facet seems to be the solution of the so-called "land problem".

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, who occupy the post of Chief of the Archives Section, Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of eight pages and entitled "The Outlook of Communist Movement in China and Manchuria:" is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government (Foreign Office).

certified at Tokyo,

on this 14th day of April, 1947

(signed) HAYASHI, Kaoru (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

at the same place,

on this same date

Witness: (signed) UMEDA, Katsumi (seal)

TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, William E. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch, hereby certify that the foregoing translation described in the above certificate is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original document.

/s/ William E. Clarke

Tokyo, Japan

Date 14 April, 1947

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昭和七年十二月現在

支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況

外務省 亞細亞局

第一章 第二節 中國共產黨ノ組織及現勢

第三款 「ソヴィエト」政府（抜萃）（一五四頁—一六三頁）

(1) 共産ノ災害

國民黨機關紙「南京中央日報」カ一九三二年六月二十五日ノ紙上ニ於テ江西省内ニ於ケル共産ノ災害ニ關シ發表セル處左ノ如シ

江西共産黨現況表（共半月刊八月號所載）

縣名	失陷次數	人口傷亡數	房屋焚燒數	財產損失數
吉安	一	二〇、〇〇〇	三〇、〇〇〇	三〇、〇〇〇、〇〇〇
吉水	一	一〇、〇〇〇	三〇、〇〇〇	三〇、〇〇〇、〇〇〇
宜黄	二	一〇、〇〇〇	四〇、〇〇〇	三二、〇〇〇、〇〇〇
進賢	未恢復	三〇、〇〇〇	八、〇〇〇	二、〇〇〇、〇〇〇

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附 16. 457-2

分	宜	一 九	1 11 元 元 元	2 元 1 元	2 元 元 元 元 元
清	江	二	-	1 元	1 元 元 0 0 0 0
永	新	未 恢 復	3 0 0 0 0	1 0 0 0 0	11 元 0 0 0 0 0 0
萬	安	二	2 0 0 0	1 0 0 0	11 0 0 0 0 0 0
新	淦	一	-	-	11 0 0 0 0 0
華	臨	未 恢 復	1 11 0 0 0	2 0 0 0	1 0 0 0 0 0
泰	和	一	1 元 元 0 0	1 元 0 0	2 元 0 0 0 0 0
萬	年	一	11 0 0 0 0	2 0 0 0	1 0 0 0 0 0 0
餘	干	二	11 0 0 0	1 0 0 0	11 元 0 0 0 0 0
九	江	一	1 0 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0 0 0 0
都	昌	一	-	-	-
書	鳴	二	1 0 0 0	3 元 0	2 元 元 0 0 0 0
餘	江	一	2 0 0 0	3 0 0 0	11 0 0 0 0 0 0
江	澤	二	1 0 0	-	1 0 0 0 0 0
興	興	一	1 元 元 0 0	11 元 元 0 0	11 元 0 0 1 0 0 0

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嶺新興崇西修廣廣王南南寶瑞行祠

江陰川仁川水昌龍山皇城溪昌陽鼓

七	三	一	一	一	七	未恢復	一	一	三	一	一	二	三	六
五,000	五,000	一,000	五,000	一,000	一,000,000	數萬人	七,000	數百人	一六,000	三,000	五,000	五,000	三,000	一五,000
一,000	四,000	一八	六〇	四〇〇	九,000	一	一,000	數百額	五,000	一〇〇	二〇	二,000	八,000	八,000
一,000,000	難以數計	三,000,000	三,000,000	一,000,000	八,000,000	一	六,000,000	七,000,000	三,000,000	三,000,000	一,000,000	一,000,000	一,000,000	一,000,000

安上 石南 翠海 翠大 安上 會集

高 鵬 縣 康 都 全 都 都 意 新 昌 同

[illegible]

167 600 = 75 - 10

又一九三二年七月十五日「東京民報」ニ據レハ同省内ニ於テ政府ニ
救済ヲ申出タル避難民數ハ同年一月ヨリ三月迄五十七萬ニ達スルニシ
テ其ノ總計次ノ如シ

安	星	瑞	浮	信	定	東	靖	樂	貴	鉛
美	子	昌	梁	國	南	郷	降	安	溪	山
一	一	二	三	三	一	一	一	三〇	一	一
五〇	五〇〇〇	五〇〇〇	六三〇	一〇〇〇〇	一	五〇	五〇〇〇〇	三〇〇〇〇	五〇〇	一〇〇〇〇
二	一、一七〇	二、〇〇〇	一〇〇	一〇〇〇〇	一	數十棟	十分之八	三〇〇〇	五、〇〇〇	一、〇〇〇
一、二〇〇〇〇	三、一三〇〇〇	一、〇〇〇〇〇	三、三〇〇〇〇	九〇、〇〇〇〇	一	四〇、〇〇〇	難以數計	三〇、〇〇〇〇〇	五、〇〇〇〇〇	五〇〇〇〇〇

Ref No. #357-D

寧 安 瑞 會 興 考 安 東 奉 萍 吉 永 蓮

都 遠 全 昌 固 都 福 固 和 鄉 水 新 花

贛州、吉安、粵北
 南雄
 贛東平遠
 贛東
 贛州、吉安、大庾
 贛州、贛東、南昌
 吉安縣縣
 吉安、南昌
 贛州、吉安
 縣城、他種、東
 吉安、南昌
 贛縣、長沙、湘
 萍鄉縣城、湖南、南昌

江西省ニ於ケル避難民統計（一二、三、三月）

三	一			二	三				五		四
三	一	六	一	〇	一	三	三	三	〇	數	二
五	五	〇	〇	六	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	九	〇
〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇
〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇	〇

Ref No 757-P

上 貴 德 鉛 鎭 弋 慶 萬 樂 黎 貴 宜 石 銅 瑞

饒 溪 與 山 安 陽 昌 年 平 川 昌 資 城 敬 昌

玉山、饒州、江
城區
江方面ノ各縣
城區及隣縣
饒州及隣縣
南昌
浙江及福建省境及浦城
饒州及附近ノ各縣
城區、景德鎮
南城、臨川
南城、撫州、閩西
城區、臨川
福建省境ノ梁山中
萬載及湖南
縣城

五〇〇〇〇
四〇〇〇
六四〇〇〇
三〇〇〇
未詳
五〇〇
數千人
二〇二〇〇
五〇〇
三〇〇〇
二四〇〇〇
三四〇〇〇
一〇〇〇〇
六〇〇〇
數百人

Ref No. #437-D

又一九三二年末ニ於ケル湖北省機關紙「新民報」ノ傳フル所ニ據レハ
湖北省各縣中會テ紅軍ニ占領セラレタル區域ハ三十一縣ニ亙リ彼占領
區域避難民ハ三百十三萬九千餘人ニシテ他地方ニ移出シタル者及他地
方ヨリ輸入シタル者ヲ合シ總計四百八萬一千餘人ニ達スル由ニシテ其
ノ統計次ノ如シ

湖北省共匪避難民調査表

縣名	共匪區域 人口	他地方ニ 移出民	他地方ニ 輸入民	合 計
星子	城區			一〇〇
修水	城區及南昌			三七〇〇
萬縣	縣城			數百人
咸寧	縣城	二八〇四〇	二九八〇	八六〇二〇
崇陽	縣城	二〇八二	三六五五	五七三九
陽新	縣城	一六六〇	一六六	一八二六六

Ref Hoc # 959-D

雲	夢	三〇〇〇〇	二五〇〇〇	三〇〇	四五三〇〇
漢	川	三〇六〇〇〇	五五九五〇	一	三六二九五〇
通	城	四〇〇〇〇	六〇〇〇〇	一	一〇〇〇〇〇
大	治	二二〇〇〇	七二〇〇〇	一 一〇〇〇	一〇五〇〇〇
黃	陵	一 一四〇〇〇	三四一〇〇	一	一四八一〇〇
江	陵	二五一一〇	一 一〇〇〇〇	五八〇〇〇	一 九三一〇〇
聚	陽	一〇〇〇〇〇	三〇〇〇	一	一〇三〇〇〇
黃	岡	,	五九	一五〇二	一五六一
松	滋	二四四六〇〇	七〇〇〇	二〇〇	二五二八〇〇
京	山	九〇〇〇〇	五〇〇〇〇	五〇〇〇	一四五〇〇〇
城	城	九九五〇〇	四四〇〇〇	八一〇〇	一五二六〇〇
當	陽	一	一	一〇〇	一〇〇
興	山	一 二〇〇〇	八〇三	二一八〇	一四九八三
荆	門	五六一八〇	一三一	一八〇〇	七六一一
宜	城	五二四五〇	二九〇八〇	二五	八二五五五

巴	東	11 大000	11 國00	11 00	11 大000
鄧		11 11 0000	11 國00	11 00	11 11 0000
天	門	11 11 0000	11 國00	11 00	11 11 0000
長	陽	1 大000	1 1 大0	1	1 0 1 大0
保	康	1 大000	1	1	1 大000
貴	梅	1 大000	1 大000	1	1 1 1 大1
通	山	1 大000	1 大000	1 大000	1 大000
麻	城	1 大000	1 大000	1 大000	1 大000
漢	陽	1 大000	1 大000	1 大000	1 大000
孝	感	1 大000	1 大000	1 大000	1 大000
安	陸	1	1	1	1
咸	豐	1	1	1	1
毅	城	1	1	1	1
武	昌	1	1	1	1

[illegible]

累進稅ヲ實施スト雖モ江西省「ソヴィエト」區域内ノ政費軍費等ハ毎月四十萬元ヲ要シ福州、漳州ニ於ケル掠奪現金ハ既ニ消費セル結果戰爭公債、工農銀行兌換券ヲ發行シツツアルモ財源枯渴シ殊ニ政府軍ノ封鎖ノ結果食糧及食鹽絶エ冬着及醫療ヲ求ムルノ途無ク又前後四回ノ剽匪ノ結果精銳ノ部隊著シク減少シ新募ノ兵ハ未タ訓練ヲ經ス紅軍ノ數ハ著シク減少シ一九三二年九月分概計ニ由レハ第三章團ノ編入數ハ約八千餘人ニシテ第二章團及第五章團ノ兵ハ更ニ少數ナリ加之兵士ノ給料ハ一日一〇仙ノ食糧ヲ給セラルルノミニテ全然給料ノ支給無ク又紅軍ハ老弱婦女ヲ強制シ被服、靴下等ヲ作ラシメ又果實、蔬菜類ヲ徵收シ之カ爲民衆ハ其ノ穀物野菜全部ヲ隱匿シ民心動搖シ實力ノ消失經濟的恐慌ノ結果殆ソト滅亡ニ近キ狀態ニ在リト云フ

以上共產黨側及國民政府側ノ報道ハ何レモ宣傳的誇張ノ色彩多ク從ツテ所謂「ソヴィエト」政治ノ實際ハ明瞭ナラサルモ大体兩者ノ宣傳ノ中間ニ在リト認メテ大過無カルヘク即チ紅軍ハ「ソヴィエト」建設ノ始期ニ於テ土地革命

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Ref Doc #959-0

資本階級打倒其他ノ名義ノ下ニ虐殺、放火、掠奪等ノ凡有暴逆ヲ逞シウシ懾怖政治ヲ實施シ以テ反動政權ノ彈壓ト物資ノ補給ヲ行フモノノ如ク其ノ結果多數ノ避難民ヲ出スニ至ル次テ「ソヴィエト」政權成立後ハ工農兵民衆ノ名ノ下ニ實際ニ於テハ共產黨ノ獨裁政治ヲ行ヒ各種ノ法令ニ基キ諸般ノ改革ヲ行フモノナルカ所謂「ソヴィエト」區域境界地方ハ剽匪軍トノ對抗上無權力地帶境出シ同地方ニ於テハ土地ハ荒廢ニ歸シ共匪其他ノ匪賊ノ横行ニ委スル狀態ナルヘク「ソヴィエト」區域内ニ於テハ相當ノ秩序保タレ居ルモ剽匪軍封鎖ノ結果食鹽、綿布、石油、機械等ハ缺乏シ財政ハ逼迫シ居リ之カ爲「ソヴィエト」政府ハ紙幣、各種強制公債（寫眞第五一〇）ヲ發行シ又紅軍ハ屢々物資補給ノ目的ヲ以テ農沃ナル地方ニ進出スルノ已ムナキ狀態ニ在ルモノト推定セラル

而シテ「ソヴィエト」政治ノ所謂軍閥政權乃至國民黨政權ト異ル所ハ所謂「社會革命」ノ實施ニシテ右ハ又「ソヴィエト」政治ノ生命トモ云フヘキモノナルカ其ノ内最モ重要ナルハ所謂「土地問題」ノ解決ナルカ如シ

Ref No # 959-D

文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

自分林慶ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處茲ニ添付セラレタル日本
語ニ依ツテ書カレ八頁ヨリ成ル共支那及滿洲ニ於ケルト題スル書類ハ日本
政府（外務省）ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ故萃ノ正確ニシテ眞實ナル爲シ
ルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年三月十四日

於東京

林

慶

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

立會人 津 部 勝 局

Def. Doc. # 959-B

Translated by
Defense Language Branch

At the time of December, 1938.

THE OUTLINE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS IN CHINA AND MANCHURIA

The Bureau of Asiatic Affairs
FOREIGN OFFICE

Chapter One:

Section Two:

Item Four: The Red Labour Movement (Movement)

No. 5 May 30th Affair.

Thus it is a natural tendency that as the labour movement developed there were frequent strikes. The number of strikes from 1918 till the "May 30th Affair" in 1925 are as follows:

<u>Number of strikes</u>	<u>year</u>
35	1918
66	1919
46	1920
49	1921
91	1922
47	1923
56	1924
183	1925

Of these, the following strikes can be mentioned as major strikes.

Strike of Keiluan Mine Works October, 1922

Strike of Sailors at Hongkong January, 1923

Strike of the Peking-Hankow Railway February, 1923

(The Two-seven Affair or the
Water Rent Affair.)

First strike of Shanghai Spinning Companies February, 1925

Strike of Tsingtao Spinning Companies April, 1925

Especially after the second Labour Convention, the labour movement rapidly reached its climax as the result of control by the General Labourers Association and made remarkable progress towards political conflict, till finally, in May, 1925, there took place the "May 30th Affair", as it is called which is the most important in the history of the Chinese Labour Movement.

The "May 30th Affair" originated in the strike in February, 1925, by the labourers working in the 9th plant of the Nippon Cotton Spinning Company which was established by the Japanese residents in Shanghai. The strike of this plant came from the comb-out of its bad workers. The strike took place on 9 February, with demand for increase of wages, better treatment of labours, recognition of labour union, etc., and immediately spread to the plants of the Nippon Cotton Spinning, Toyoda Cotton Spinning, and Taikei Cotton Spinning Companies. Though the operations of these plants were resumed for a time as a result of the strong attitude taken by the authorities of each company, the strikers again acted positively as soon as a strike was called at the Tsingtao Cotton Spinning Company in April. The

positive action on the part of the workers together with the strong attitude of the authorities of each company quickly aggravated the situation, so that all companies closed their plants simultaneously.

However, on 1st April, more than seventy workers who were gathering in front of the gate of the 7th Plant of the Waigai Cotton Spinning Company in opposition to the closing of the plant clashed with the Japanese and Indian policemen who were guarding there, and by the firing of the Indian policeman, 26 workers were wounded, one of whom soon died. The result was that, the situation rapidly grew worse. Furthermore, with the actual participation of students in the strike and also by their demonstration, the situation became more and more acute. On 24 May, five students were arrested and taken before the Municipal Council on the charge of having distributed propaganda leaflets. On learning that these students were not released at the trial on 30 May at Huisheryamen, labourers, students and masses started demonstrations throughout the city. A band of the demonstrators clashed with policemen on guard at Nanking Road with the final result that four were killed and 10 or so wounded by a volley from Indian policemen.

On account of the outbreak of this incident, the resentment of the revolutionary elements among the labourers, students and masses reached its climax. Then, on 1 June, calling a

general strike throughout the city of Shanghai, masses of people clashed everywhere in the city, with policemen of the concession, and as the result, again over twenty strikers were killed and wounded at Chekiang Road on the same day. That night near the New World, there was another clash, causing one killed and more than ten wounded in the crowd. Clashes of this kind constantly took place till about 10 June meanwhile until 13 June, strikes were called as follows:

	Number of strikes	Number of participants in strikes
a. Undertakings under Japanese management	39	63,000
b. " " British "	24	36,000
c. " " The Municipal Council management	8	3,600
d. Various plants connected with foreigners	35	27,000
e. Plants under Chinese management	11	26,000
Total	117	155,600

The "May 30th Movement," so called, which was aimed at the Anti-Imperialistic Strike that was caused by the "May 30th Affair", spread everywhere under the leadership of the All China General Labourers Association, and in such cities as Hankow, Nanking, Chinchiang and Chungking, serious clashes were brought about. In Peiping and Tientsin, there were frequent demonstrations with labourers at the center. Without any exception throughout China. Almost all works and plants managed by foreigners sustained strikes. During this period, there were

also constant financial stimulus in the main plants managed by the Chinese. Thus the General Labour Association of Shanghai, which was virtually the centre of that movement extending all over China, not only gained control over all labourers in Shanghai, but also became an important center of the revolutionary movement extending to all China.

The above is the external development of the May 30th Affair. If internal affairs are observed, it is plain that the labour dispute of the Nairai Cotton Spinning Company of 8 February which was the very origin of the May 30th Affair was, indeed, not a simple affair that arose of itself from the inside, but it was carried out systematically through instigation from the outside as a part of the plan previously prepared according to instructions from the Comintern for Bolshevizing Shanghai and causing riots there.

Chen Tu-hsin, who, at that time, was the head of both the Chinese Communist Party and the Sociocratic Young Men's Association, had been making plans in Shanghai up to 20 January of the same year, keeping in touch with the Comintern Headquarters at Moscow. As soon as the Nairai Cotton Spinning Company went on strike, the Tcheia University of Shanghai, which is a private institution established by subsidy from the Soviet Government, and various other labour schools, were changed into various labour associations and became strike headquarters. Professors, students, etc., of these schools took

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part in the strikes in succession and, supporting and encouraging the strikes, were successful in turning them into rioting. In addition to these, the Anti-Imperialistic League, which had hitherto bear keeping silent, supported the strikers to their utmost power, holding a meeting of its executive committee on 22 February at the Central Park of Shanghai to organize strike-supporting associations all over China, and collecting contributions for the associations, etc. Moreover, the Red Labour International Comintern of Moscow beckoned up its branches over the world to send subscriptions to the strikers.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Ambassador to China, Karakhan, made an effort in propaganda by sending the diplomatic circles stationed in Peking circular letters in which he supported the demand of the Chinese Nation. On the other hand, the Soviet Consulate-general in Shanghai (which is virtually the Far East Bureau of the Comintern) was strictly guarded, and from frequent conferences, increase of members, increase of Chinese visitors, as well as contact of these Chinese with the strikers, the activities of 'Cheka' (former name of the L.P.U.), etc., it could only be guessed that some manoeuvres were in progress, though the truth could not easily be grasped. However, the real state of it all finally became clear through the agency of the police attached to our Consulate-general.

Fact is that, the Police Station attached to the Imperial Consulate-general in Shanghai secured one a part of the answering letters which 'Chierukesofu,' chief of the Propaganda Section of the Comintern in Shanghai, despatched at the end of February, just in the midst of the struggle of the Naisai Spinning Company, in answer to enquiries from Peiring about the strike. According to this letter, it is obvious that the strikes had previously been planned in accordance with instruction from the political Bureau of the Comintern in Moscow. It is stated in the letter that the politicians affiliated with the Kuomintang Party, pressmen, students, etc., were coached by the Chief of the Propaganda Section and had organized the strike committee. The Chief described in detail the fact that while he remained in the back ground he personally coached these people. In this reply, names and addresses of the Japanese concerned were also given, and all of these corresponded to the fact. In the same letter, it is also stated that the above strike was the first trial in China and it was not too much to say that this strike opened the way for the organized labour movement. The same letter revealed that the reason why the Japanese-controlled plants were selected was only for convenience' sake. Now since the process by which this letter was received and what was stated in it completely corresponded to the truth, there is no doubt that the letter was not a forgery.

Though the process and final receipt of this letter in the hands of our Consulate-general should be regarded as a diplomatic secret, yet since it is very excellent material for revealing the truth of the May 30th Affair, which was one of the most outstanding phenomena in the history of the Chinese Communist movement, and for disclosing the plot of the Comintern and the Soviet, I will show the translation of this letter as follows:

The translation

Letter
Sir:

In reply to your inquiry about the progress and the details of the Chinese Labourers' strike, for the present I have the pleasure to report its outline to you. Essentially since it is professionally difficult for me to take direct lead in anything, I was obliged to turn to Mr. Gumbenko. Moreover, in the near future, I will let you together with Mr. know in detail, about the progress of the business of the Agitating Section. In this report, I am informing you of the start and progress made by the Agitating Section which brought about the strikes. In accordance with orders and instructions from the Political Section, I hurriedly made the Chinese Labour Union draft the prospectus of a Strike Committee, and it was mailed shortly. Together with this, specially despatched agitators start the establishment of the strike committee. And though not so big in amount, funds were advanced and the agitating movement

progressed steadily. And it was successfully impressed on Chinese labourers' minds that, in case of (the carrying out of) a general strike, the labourers could be able to support themselves and in particular the strike committee would furnish them with financial aid.

Though at the outset the Chinese and others had some suspicion as to the strike committee, after they were convinced, the work of the agitators began to meet great success with extremely rapid progress. A kind of unit called "Ten Men Party" was formed out of each ten labourers, one senior labourer appointed chief of each such unit. And it was decided to make each chief act as closely the master and go-on of his party members.

Thus all the technical preparations had been made. Now we were in the stage of only waiting for the result and of sounding out the crowd. Whereas I obtained information that labourers at the Japanese controlled plants had gradually entered a state of uneasiness, there were many people who asked for support from the agitators, saying they were willing to carry out a strike. Labourers' proposals for strikes direct to the strike committee also became frequent occurrences. So the committee told them that it would give them sufficient support for the strike. Apart from these, other groups also promised to join in leading the labourers in

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the strike. Then I did not need to wait any longer for an opportunity. I thought if I should hesitate that time, it could make the Chinese labourers have a feeling that our promises would be different from what we actually would do, this creating bad impressions. So I proposed this problem to the local committee meeting - "Kestoon" - which was held recently. After discussion at the meeting, the strike decision was passed unanimously. As I have already sent you the minutes of that meeting, I think they are already in your hands.

The next day, the strike committee received the order to start the strike. This order was not issued simultaneously but was conveyed in succession to each plant, because we thought this method was important.

The first day of the strike was very successful because the labourers were standing solid as the result of sufficient preparations by the Chinese labourers. Especially, that the strike committee gave the labourers subsidy on the evening of that very day created strong impression upon them, arousing their ardour so much that the labourers of the remaining plants also took part on the second and third days.

Also from the plants where there had not yet been any strike committee, some commissioners visited us and asked for support, but I absolutely refused such proposals, telling them that till they should have established strike committees of

thrown, according to the principles of the Party, we should be unable to take any steps for them. An unvarnished lie, after all, is rather apt to attract obstacles in the way of our whole business: so I disposed of this business this way. This was a very necessary disposal. For example, on the second day, students of the Kuomintang combined propaganda of their nationalism and great instilling of their principle, with the result that unnecessary passionate elements participated and had a very bad effect upon the plan for all the strikers. Their method now has already reached so senseless a stage that it has finally caused interference in both foreign and Chinese policies. Then for the purpose of rangelike attack through propaganda, I immediately gave an order of the following nature. That is to say, I made the strikers set forth a straight financial demand and, at the same time, had them distribute leaflets stating that Japanese guards and managers made improper use of their authorities against women. I also collected enough documentary evidence regarding this. Our police made round-ups several times and arrested 15 persons who were striking. Some of our agitators were also taken into custody. This is, however, a commonplace and we cannot avoid it. However, this fact can also be regarded as an unexpected fruit, because such incident will show the Chinese laborers that the Chinese agitators are entirely powerless and that earlier their agitators act in concert with us, the more they

will become the master of the present situation. What I have to mention particularly is that the groups of students will be us greatly, selecting agitators among themselves, taking action part, and keeping close connections with us. However, as stated above, a part of the students made propaganda of their nationalism. This is, in short, no evidence that the discipline of the Communist Party among the students is still lacking. However, such feature will soon disappear.

As the funds of the strike committee were going almost to nothing, I was forced to deliver three thousand dollars to the committee. In addition to this, the committee is asking for an appropriation of five thousand dollars, for which I am asking an expression of opinion from Mr. Gomarov.

The outline of the progress of the strike is as stated above. As I think you already know well from newspapers about the agitation, I do not tell you about it. But, as I have employed usual methods towards the Japanese newspapers, the articles which are necessary for us will all be printed. With regard to this, I devised a suitable means when I negotiated with (Mr. Murata, No.17, Yasukuni Road), for which Mr. Murata swore his support. Regarding the fee to him, it is to be paid from the expenses of the branch.

As for the trial of the arrested, we are not satisfied at all from the Chinese judges, but there is much of political nature.

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If so, it is thought necessary to give much "edification" to the national pressure which is due to the illegal treatment and slaughter of Chinese labourers by Japanese supervisors. When the representatives of the Virgin Textile and the press etc. called on me yesterday, I assured them that I had not been concerned with the movement, and made them a present. Both of them then promised to give a proper report in the papers. As for the Chinese papers, I think it needless to say anything.

In short, our movement has been much more solidified, and it may safely be said an organized labour movement has already been launched in China. Why, you may ask, have I started the movement with the Japanese plants? I simply thought it convenient. But the movement should be started from the lines with least resistance. As the next blow is expected to be more easily noticed by foreigners, it will bring about a serious disturbance; consequently, it will become harder for us to carry on the movement. Moreover, it is understood that lately a stricter watch has been kept in the foreign factories and our agitators find it most difficult to "work" in such factories, although this is a matter for the future. Therefore, our next step will be to make the factory owners make concessions. It depends solely upon the issue of this step whether the Chinese will become fully aware that, as the outcome of

their thorough collaboration, they have got all that is necessary for them. We are now studying how to induce some of these factory owners to make concessions. And for this we are now using third persons in the negotiation, for which I think it will be necessary to pay some amount of money.

And next you may ask why we should give so much pecuniary assistance to (the Shanghai Press). The fact is that there are many Japanese secret agencies in that press, and we gave them money through (Mr. Ito). These Japanese take on the printing work according to our instructions.

The above is all that I can report to you. I think now you are well aware of the present situation. About the development in future, I will inform you without delay. Here I have one thing further to say. There are certain Chinese laborers at Shanghai who blindly obey the instructions of our leaders. I suggest you send some proper leaders to them.

Yours truly,

From one of your comrades.

(Note) This letter of 6 pages is typewritten in Russian, and the parenthesized parts are written purposely in English (see Photo No. 14).

As the above letter shows, the dispute was led by a systematic plan plotted by directives from the Comintern. The chief of the propaganda section of the Soviet General Consulate organized a committee of strikers and led it by its plan. Later it became clear that he had secret communications with Sojping, supplied funds to anti-hat meetings with Japanese comrades. The amount the Soviet General Consulate disbursed for this dispute and the following May 30th incident as well as out funds or for similar red movements reached \$ 430,000 before the middle of June. Of this, \$ 200,000 was received by General Consul Ozernin from Karaban on June 11, when the Comintern went into Sojping secretly to report the situation. \$30,000 were given to the representatives of students on June 1, and the remaining \$240,000 was handed to the Federation of Industry and Commerce. These facts were revealed as result of police inquiries of our General Consulate. The funds seemed to have been sent to the Shanghai Strikers' Organization through Profintern. In connection with May 30th Incident, there was something shameful in the attitude of Japanese capitalists. One example is that they tried a lockout in order to boost up the price of cotton cloth at the moment of its heavy decline.

After the May 30th Incident, the General Industrial Society of All China immediately held a secret meeting for the preparation of an anti-British boycott. As a consequence, a

general walkout was started in Hongkong on June 10, and one after another the workers left for Canton. The British authorities took up a counter-movement against this action by stopping the export of foods, gold and silver bars and paper currencies. Meanwhile, on June 23, the British authorities in Shatin Settlement fired machine guns against the workers' demonstration; 52 were killed and a few more than 100 wounded in the accident. Afterwards it was called the Shatin Incident. This incident intensified the anti-British boycott in Canton more than ever. The workers held a Hongkong Strikers' conference and organized a Strikers Council. By taking these steps, they tried to go through the continuing conflict. Meanwhile, however, as the northward movement of the National Revolutionary Army went on, they were obliged to change their attitude in carrying on the anti-British movement. On the pretext of adopting new measures in the course of the intensification of economic breach, they stopped all the actual movements theretofore in operation.

Meanwhile, the anti-British movement, backed by the Comintern, namely the Soviet Union, and motivated by the 30th Incident, produced a tremendous effect on the British trade supremacy over China. As a result, the British Government finally made the well-known pronouncement of a realistic policy toward China, thus renouncing her former policy.

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In spite of this action, the movement was more than ever intensified after the irrevocation of the National Revolutionaryist diplomacy, and it instigated at last incident of forceful regaining of the Hankow British settlement at the beginning of January, 1927. In response to the new situation, on Jan. 27, 1927, the Government issued the second announcement with the same purport as the former one to clarify the situation. Not only Britain but other powers also were compelled to modify their policies, drastically as outcome of the May 30th Incident. The reason was that the Comintern had well planned to take advantage of the special situation in China, where the capitalist classes were fully in the control of foreign capital, and they succeeded in the arousal of communism and nationalism. Thus there was the renewal of racial consciousness and the development of the mass movement. In considering these facts, we cannot but attribute all the results to the successful diplomacy of the Soviet Union. However, the later breach between the Soviet and China, owing to oppression of the communists carried out by the National Government, indicates that the policy of the Comintern made too strong an effect not only upon China but upon other powers. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the May 30th Incident which was initiated by the anti-Japanese movement and was afterwards transformed into the anti-British movement, made its appearance

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after the restoration of Russo-Japanese friendship. These characteristics also may have important bearing on the recent problems of Russo-Chinese relations.

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昭和七年十二月現在

295

支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況

第一章第二節第四款赤色労働運動（沿革）

外務省亞細亞局

第五 五件事件

（一七八頁—一八九頁）

以上労働運動ノ進展ト共ニ結果ノ顕著スルニ至レルハ自然ノ勢力ナルカ
一九一八年以來一九二五年五件事件ニ至ル迄ニ於ケル結果ヲ見ルニ次
ノ如シ

一九一八年	二五件
一九一九年	六六件
一九二〇年	四六件
一九二一年	四九件
一九二二年	九一件
一九二三年	四七件
一九二四年	五六件
一九二五年	一八三件

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右ノ中重要ナル能業トシテハ

開業抗能業	一九二二年十月
香港海員能業	一九二三年一月
京漢鐵道能業 (二七〇件又ハ江岸事件)	一九二三年二月
第一回上海紡織能業	一九二五年二月
青島紡織能業	一九二五年四月

等ヲ要クルコトヲ待ヘク

茲ニ第二回勞働大會後ハ總工會ノ統制ニ依リ勞働運動頗ニ高潮ヲ呈シ歐
 治關係ニ同ツテ若シキ輸出ヲ示シ茲ニ一九二五年五月ニ至リ支那勞働運
 動史上最も重要ナル所爲五件ヲ訪起スルニ至レリ
 五件事件ハ一九二五年二月ノ上海ノ邦人企業内外棉紡織第九工場勞働者
 ノ能業ニ淵源ス右能業ハ同工場不良廠工次ニ端ヲ發シ賃銀ノ增加待遇ノ
 改善、組合承認等ノ要求ヲ以テ同月九日開始セラレタルモノナルカ直チ
 ニ日華紡織、重田紡織、大康紡織ノ各工場ニ波及シ會社側ノ強硬ナル態
 度ニ依リ一時復業ヲ見タルモ四月青島紡織ノ能業アルヤ再び積極的行動
 ニ出テ會社側ノ強硬ナル態度ト相俟ツテ形勢險惡トナレル爲各社ハ一齊

Ref No # 959-3

ニ工場ヲ閉鎖セリ

然ルニ四月十五日内外棉第七工場閉鎖ニ反對シ集合中ノ職工七十餘名ハ
警察中ノ日本人及印度人巡査ト衝突シ印度人巡査ノ發砲ニ因リ職工ニ二
六名ノ負傷者ヲ出シ内一名聞モ無ク死亡セル事件ヲ生シタル結果形勢頗
ニ惡化シ莫ニ學生之ニ加ハリテ示威運動ヲ起スニ及ヒ事態ハ一層尖鋭化
シ五月二十四日宣傳「ピラ」紙布ノ爲工部局ニ引渡セラレタル學生五名
カ同三十日會審衙門ノ裁判ニ於テ極刑ヲ許サレサルヲ知ルヤ發奮者、學
生莫ノ他ノ警察ハ全市ニ亙リ盛ナル示威運動ヲ開始シ其ノ一隊カ南京路
ニ於テ警察中ノ警官ト衝突ヲ來シ遂ニ印度人巡査ノ一斉射撃ト成リ死者
四名負傷者十餘名ヲ出スニ至レリ

右事件ノ發生ニ依リ發奮者、學生、及各階級ノ革命警察ノ激昂其ノ極ニ
達シ六月一日上海全市ニ亙リテ罷市ヲ行ヒ警察ハ到ル處ニ租界警察ト衝
突シ同日浙江路ニ於テ再び二十餘名ノ警察殺傷セラレ同夜新世界附近ニ
於テ又々衝突ヲ演ジ警察中ニ死者一、負傷者十餘名ヲ出セリ而シテ此種
衝突ハ六月十日頃ニ至ル迄間斷續ク發生シ一方六月十三日迄ニ

(一) 日本人經營事業

二十九ヶ所

六萬三千人

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二英租界經營事業	二十四ヶ所	三萬六千人
三工部局事業	八ヶ所	三千六百人
四其他外國人關係諸工場	三十五ヶ所	二萬七千人
五支那人經營工場	十一ヶ所	二萬六千人
總計	百十七ヶ所	十五萬五千六百人

ノ營業ヲ見タリ

五卅事件ニ依リ誘發セラレタル反帝國主義的營業ヲ目標トスル所謂五卅運動ハ全國總工會指導ノ下ニ各地ニ傳播シ漢口、南京、九江、重慶ニ於テハ影響タル衝突事件ヲ惹起シ北京、天津ニ於テハ勞働者ヲ中心トスル示威運動爆發シ外華人經營ノ工場ハ全國ニ亘リテ殆ンド例ナク罷業ニシヒ支那人工場ノ主ナルモノニ在リテモ此間不斷ニ經濟紛争行ハレタルヲ以テ全國的運動ノ事實上ノ中心タリシ上海總工會ハ俄然全上海ノ勞働者ニ對スル指導權ヲ獲得シタルノミナラス全國ニ亘ル革命運動ノ一重要中心ヲ成スニ至レリ

以上ハ五卅事件ノ表面的經過ナルカ更ニ之カ裏面ノ事情ヲ觀察スルニ同事件ノ抑々ノ發端タルニ二月八日ノ内外棉花勞働爭議ハ實ハ單ニ内部的

且自發的ニ生セル事件ニハ非スシテ、「コミンテルン」ノ訓令ニ基キ準備セラレタル上海赤化暴動計劃ノ一部トシテ外部ヨリ組織的且煽動的ニ實施セラレタルモノナルコトヲ知ル。

即チ當時中國共產黨及社會主義青年團ノ兩國體ノ首領タリシ陳獨秀ハ莫斯科「コミンテルン」本部ト聯絡シツツ同年一月二十日返上海ニ於テ計劃スル所アリ又暴動政府ノ補助金ニヨリ成立セル上海ノ私立大慶大學ヲ始メ其ノ他ノ各種勞動學校ハ内外滿蒙業發生ト同時ニ各種ノ工廠ニ變シ能美國ノ本據トナリ是等ノ學校ノ教授、學生等ハ相當テ能英ニ參加シ之ヲ援助煽動シ其ノ暴動化ニ成功セリ。又從來沈黙ヲ守レル反帝國主義聯盟ハ二月二十二日上海中央公園内ニ執行委員會ヲ開キ全國ニ同テ能業應援會ヲ組織シ寄附金ヲ募集スル等極力能業回ヲ應援シ、又莫斯科赤色勞動「インターナショナル」ハ世界各支部ヲシテ寄附金ヲ募集セシメ之ヲ能業團ニ送付セリ

其ノ間駐支蘇聯邦大使「カラハン」ハ北京外交團ニ對シ支那民族ノ要望ヲ支持セル同章ヲ發スル等宣傳ニ努ムル所アリシカ一方上海ニ於ケル蘇聯邦總領事館（事實上ノ「コミンテルン」極東局）ハ嚴重ニ警戒セラレ

44/1004959-E

碩果ナル會議ノ開催、會員ノ増大、出入支那人ノ増加並是等支那人ノ能
乘國トノ往復「チエカ」(「ゲ、ベ、ウ」ノ前身)ノ活躍等ニ依リ能力
ニ何等カノ策動行ハレ居ルコトヲ推定セラルルニ止マリ容易ニ之カ眞相
ヲ把握スルコト不可能ナリシ處我總領事館審察ノ機能ニ依リ遂ニ其間ノ
眞相判明スルニ至レリ

即チ在上海總領事館審察ニ於テハ内外紛争議ノ最中、即チ二月末上
海「コミンテルン」宣傳部主任「チエルカソフ」カ同争議ニ關スル北京
ヨリノ問合セニ對シ發シタル同答ノ一ヲ入手セルカ之ニ鑑レハ同争議ハ
在莫斯科「コミンテルン」政治局(「ボリトビュロー」)ノ訓令ニ基
キ豫テ計画セラレタルコト明ニシテ右同答書ニハ同主任カ元ツ國民黨系
記者、新聞記者、學生等ヲ指導シテ同盟罷業委員會ヲ組織セシメ自ラハ
義面ニ在リテ直接指導シタル曲折経緯ヲ詳細記述シアリ而シテ右書面中
ニハ本邦人關係者ノ姓名宿所等モ記載セラレ居ル處何レモ事實ニ符合シ
又同書面中ニハ前記争議ハ支那ニ於ケル最初ノ試ニシテ組織セラレタル
労働運動ノ端緒ヲ開キタルモノト云フモ過言ニ非ストシ且邦人工場ヲ震
ヒタルハ單ニ便宜ノ問題ニ過キサルコトヲ記載シアリ同文書ノ偽作ニ非

サルコトハ其入手ノ経路並記載事項カ事實ト完全ニ符合スルコト等ニヨ
リ疑ノ餘地無キモノナリ
本件密信カ我總領事館ノ手ニ入りタル経緯並入手ノ事實ハ外交上ノ秘密
ニ附スヘキ所ナルモ支那共產運動史上最モ顯著ナル事象ノ一ナル五卅事
件ノ真相ヲ知り且「コミンテルン」及蘇聯邦側ノ密謀ヲ明カニスル好資
ノ資料ナルヲ以テ左ニ之カ譯文ヲ提出セムトス

譯文

「拜啓

支那労働者ノ同盟能業ノ経緯並頃末ニ歸スル貴問ニ對シ茲ニ不取敢大
体ノ報告ニ止メ置キ傍殊ニ小生ハ聯軍側直接總テヲ指揮シ難キヲ以テ
（「クリベンコ」氏）ヲ煩ハスノ餘儀無キ次第ニ有之候尤モ近キ將來
ニ於テ友人。君ト共ニ運動部ノ事業ノ經過ニ付貴下ニ對シ詳細ノ
報告ヲ提出可致候旁々本報告ニ於テハ同盟能業ヲ惹起セシメタル運動
部ノ事業ノ發端ト經過ヲ報告申スヘク候政治局ノ訓令及指示ニ從ヒ候
急トシテ支那労働組合ヲシテ同盟能業委員會ノ創立趣意ヲ起案セシメ
候處總テ之カ實現ヲ見ルニ至リ候之ト共ニ特別派遣運動員ハ同盟能業

Doc # 957-E

委員會ノ設立ニ着手シ多額ニハ非サルモ資金ノ融通モ出來煩瑣運動ハ
着々トシテ進展シ支那人労働者ノ組織ニ認同 監禁業執行ノ場合ニハ彼
等ハ慰養ヲ期待シ得ヘク殊ニ同盟能業委員會ハ彼等ニ對シ金錢上ノ援助
ヲ爲シ得ヘキコトヲ知覺セシムルニ至リ候

當初支那人等ハ能業委員會ニ對シ懷疑ノ念ヲ懷キ居リタルモ彼等ヲ信服
セシムルニ及ビ運動員等ノ毒害ハ極メテ迅速ニ且多クノ成功ヲ以テ退却
シ始メ僥倖働者下名ヲ以テ十人圍ナルモノヲ組織シ各團體ニ古參者一名
ヲ團長ニ任命シ各國長ヲシテ所屬團體ノ意圖其他ヲ注視セシムルコトト
致シ候

斯クテ技術的方面ノ諸準備ハ整ヒ此上ハ唯其ノ結果ヲ俟テ群衆ノ意圖ヲ
窺フノミト相成リ候小生ハ漸次日本人ノ所有ニ屬スル工場ニ於テ労働者
カ動搖ヲシ始メタルノ報ニ接スルニ至リ且屢次同盟能業ヲ執行シタキヲ以
テ何分ノ援助アリタキ旨運動員ニ申出ツル者アリ又同盟能業委員會ニ對
シテモ直接労働者カ同盟能業ノ希望ヲ申出ツル者頻繁トナリタルヲ以テ
委員會ハ之ニ對シ充分援助スヘキ旨告クル所有之候コノ外他ノ團體ニ於
テモ同様事件ニ關シ労働者ヲ指揮スヘキ旨約諾スル所有之候

Ref No. #959-E

茲ニ於テ小生ハ最早時機ヲ得ツノ必要無ク且此際躊躇遠巡セムカ支部労働者ハ約束ト事實ト相違ストノ感ヲ懷キ彼等ニ對シ惡印象ヲ與フヘシト思惟致シ依仍テ小生ハ本問題ヲ最近僅セラレタル地方委員會「メストコム」一會議ニ提出致シ審議討論ノ結果全會一致ヲ以テ採決セラレ依同會議ノ議事録ハ既ニ貴下ニ送付済ナルヲ以テ御落手ノ事ト存シ候其翌日同盟罷業委員會ハ罷業ヲ開始スヘキ旨ノ命令ヲ接受致シ依尤モ右命令ハ一時ニ離セラレス願ヲ遂ヒ各工場ニ對シ同ケラレタルモノニ有之蓋シ如新方法ハ肝要ト存セラレ候

同盟罷業ノ第一日ハ支部人労働者カ充分準備ヲ爲シタル結果労働者ノ結束實ニ固キモノアリ成功ヲ博シ依然ニ同盟罷業委員會カ罷業労働者ニ對シ補助金ヲ交付セル事ハ彼等ニ對シ強キ印象ヲ與ヘ益々氣勢ヲ漲ヘ第二日及第三日ニハ幾處ノ工場モ之ニ參加スルニ至リ候

亦タ同盟罷業委員會ノ設置無キ工場ヨリモ委員來訪シ援助ヲ求メ來リ依侍天小生ハ右申出ニ對シ黨ノ綱領ニ基キ彼等ノ間ニ罷業委員會ノ組織セラルルニ至ル迄ハ何等措置スヘカラストシテ之ヲ絶對ニ拒絶致シ依蓋シ組織的ナラサル計画ハ却テ全事業ニ對シ支障ヲ來スヘキヲ以テ斯ク收計ヒタル次第ニ

filed time # 959-E

傍右ハ誠ニ不得止措置ニシテ第二日ノ如キハ國民黨ノ學生ハ國民主義ノ宣傳ニ着手シ大イニ主義ヲ鼓吹シ不要ナル熱情的分子ヲ加入シ全警察ノ計畫ニ害シキ惡影響ヲ與ヘ目下既ニ常規ヲ逸スル迄ニ立三リ之カ爲メ外國及支那警察ノ干涉ヲ誘起スルニ至リ傍仍テ小生ハ直チニ左記性質ノ宣傳方法ヲ以テ解釋セシムカ爲命令ヲ發シ傍即チ純然タル經濟的要求ヲ爲サシムルト共ニ日本人ノ監視人及管理人カ婦人ニ對シテ職務ヲ濫用セシ内容ノ傳單ヲ撤布セシメ之ニ對スル證據ヲ充分蒐集致シ傍警察ハ數次ノ檢査ヲ行ヒ煽動セル勞働者ヲ拘引シ又我方ノ煽動員モ若干名押留セラレ傍但シ右ハ通常ノ現象ニシテ避ケ難キ所ニ有之傍然レトモ取ハ此事實ハ思ハサル收穫トモ認メラレ傍伺トナレハ斯カル事件ハ一般支那人勞働者ニ對シ傍等支那人煽動者カ金ク無力ナルコトヲ示シ傍等煽動員カ吾人ト步調ヲ一ニスルコト早ケレハ早キ挫敗等ハ現象ノ主人公トナルヘキモノニ有之傍爲メニ御座傍茲ニ特記スヘキハ學生團カ吾人ニ援助シタルコト多大ニシテ傍等ノ中ヨリ煽動者選ハレ吾人ト密接ナル連絡ヲ保チ活動セルコトニ有之傍但シ一部ノ學生カ國民主義ヲ宣傳セシハ前述ノ

157 Nov 4 1917 - E.

通りナルカ右ハ要スルニ未タ半至間ニ於ケル共產黨ノ規律不備ナル
證左ニ倭然レ共黨カラス如斯等ハ無キニ至ルヘク候

同盟能業委員會ノ資金殆ント皆無ナラムトスルニ至リシヲ以テ小生
ハ不得已三千弗ヲ交付致シ候同五千弗ノ支出方算出居ルモ小生ハ
件ニ關シ「ボノマレンコ」名ノ意見ヲ求メ置キ候

同盟能業ノ経過ハ大要前記ノ通りニ有之候爲新聞ノ編輯ニ付テハ既
ニ御承知ノ事ト存シ候ヘハ報告ハ差違ヘ候但シ日本新聞ニ關シテハ
例ノ手段ヲ講シ置キ候間吾人ノ必要トスル記事ハ全部掲載セラルヘ
ク本件ニ關シテハ「ハスケル」誌一七號村田氏ト交渉ノ際適當
ノ處置講シ置キ候處同氏モ助力ヲ爲ハレ候同人ニ對スル報酬ハ吏部
ノ費用ヨリ支出スルニ至ルヘクト存セラレ候

被檢者ノ裁判ニ關シテハ吾人ハ支那側裁判官ヨリ充分ノ保證ヲ期
待シ候處萬事經濟的性質ヲ有スヘク果シテ然ラハ日本人管理人ノ支
那勞働者ニ對スル不法ノ取扱及虐殺ニ悉ク國民的壓迫ニ對シ多量ノ
抗議ヲ發シ候

昨日日本電報通信及新聞ノ代表者（、、、、等）ハ小生ヲ來訪シタ

ルニ付小生ハ本件運動ニハ吾人ハ全然關係無キコトヲ保證シ彼等ニ
 補助ヲ呈シ僱傭人モ適當ナル通信ヲ新聞ニ掲載スヘキコトヲ小生
 ニ保證致シ僱傭支那新聞ニ付テハ運フル必要無之儀ト存ジ

之ヲ要スルニ吾人ノ活動モ愈々盛固ナルモノト相成リ支那ニ於テ祖
 國セラレタル労働運動ノ端ヲ開キタルモノト云フモ適當ニ非ス

ト存候何故ニ日本人經營ノ工場ヨリ始メタリヤトノ御質問有ラント

存シ僱傭右ハ單ニ抵抗少ナキ方面ヨリ始ムルヲ便宜トナシタル爲

ニ外ナラス依次同ノ打撃ハ外國人ニ對シ一層急知セラルヘキモノナル

ヘク僱傭右ハ世上ニ多大ノ影響ヲ來タスヘキヲ以テ一層急知ナルヘク

且外國人工場ニ於テハ近來監視嚴重トナリタル爲僱傭員ヲ是等ノ工

場ニ活動スルコト至難トナリタルハ事實ナルモ此事ハ將來ノコトニ

屬シ

仍テ來ルヘキ吾人ノ目的ハ工場主側ヲシテ讓歩セシムルコトニ存シ

支那人カ其結果ノ必要ナルモノノ總テヲ獲得シタルコトヲ徹底

的ニ彼等ニ知ラシメ得ルト否トハ一ニ前記工場主側ノ讓歩如何ニ係

リ僱傭人ハ工場經營者ノ中若干名ヲシテ讓歩ノ途ニ出テシムル豫計

File No. # 759-E

策中ニシテ之カ爲ニハ第三者ヲ交渉ノ任ニ當ラシメ居候或ハ若干ノ支
給ヲ必要トスルニ至ラムカトモ存セラレ候

次ニ何故ニ（上海新聞）多額ノ援助ヲ爲スヤトノ質問ニ有之候處抑
々同所ニハ吾黨ノ密債タル多クノ日本人居リ（伊藤君）ヲ經テ彼等ニ
支給シアル關係有之候之カ爲日本人ハ吾人ノ權限ニ從ヒ日本字ノ印刷
ヲ引受ケ居リ候

以上ハ小生カ貴下ニ報告シ得ヘキ總テニ有之小生ハ現今ノ晨星カ貴下
ニハ總テ明カナルコトト存シ候又將來生スヘキ變化ニ臨ミテハ小生ハ
迎フナク貴下ニ通報スヘク候尙最後ニ上海ノ某々支那人勞働者ハ必
要ノ場合ニハ盲目的ニ指導者ノ命ニ服從スヘキ旨ニ有之候等ニ對シ
其指導者ヲ與ヘラレンコトヲ貴下ニ申述候

頓首

貴下ノ僚友ヨリ

（註）本書面ハ舊語「タイプライター」ニテ打テ六枚ニ頁ル

釋文中（一）内ノ部分ハ特ニ記録ニテ記入セラレ居リ

（寫眞第一四参照）

以上ニ依リ内外紛争議ハ「コミンテルン」ノ訓令ニ基キ計画的ニ組織セラレタルモノニシテ蘇聯邦總領事館内ノ宣傳主任ハ親シク能率委員會ヲ組織シ之ヲ指導シ之ニ關シ北京ト秘密信ヲ往復スルト共ニ其ノ手ヨリ資金ヲ支拂シ日本入歸係者トモ會見セルコト顯カトナレルカ蘇聯邦總領事館カ同事件ヲ始メ其後發生セル五卅事件ヲ遺シ支出セル能率資金其他ノ變化資金ハ六月中旬迄ニ四十三萬弗ニ達シ内二十萬弗ハ六月十一日總領事「オゾルニン」カ北京ニ潛行シ事情報告ノ除「カラハシ」ヨリ受取リ三萬弗ハ六月一日學生代表者ニ支給シ二十四萬弗ハ工商學聯合會ニ支給セラレタルコト亦該總領事館警察ノ探査ニ依リ判明セリ而シテ七等資金ハ莫斯科赤色勞動組合「インターナシヨナル」(「プロファインテルン」)ヨリ上海總機關ニ送付セラレタルモノナルカ如シ尙五卅事件ニ關シ日本人資本家ノ態度ハ相當非難セラルヘキモノアリ殊ニ結末暴落ノ際ニ之ヲ利用シテ「ロックアウト」ヲ敢行シ綿布帛上ヲ策セル事實ノ如キ其ノ一例ナリ

五卅事件後中華全國總工會ハ直チニ秘密會議ヲ開キテ對英「ボイコツト」ノ準備ニ着手シ其ノ結果六月十九日以來香港ニ於テ總罷業開始セ

ラレ労働者ハ續々廣東ニ引誘クルニ至レルヲ以テ香港英國當局ハ廣東ニ
對シ糧食、金銀塊、紙幣ノ輸出ヲ禁止シテ之ニ對抗セリ然ルニ六月二
十三日沙面ニ於ケル民衆ノ示威運動ニ對シ同租界英國當局ハ機關銃ノ
射撃ヲ行ヒ死者五十二名負傷者百七十餘名圍シ所謂沙面事件ヲ惹起セ
リ

廣東對英「ボイコット」ハ右事件ニ因リ一層激化セラレ労働者側ハ省
港罷工々々代表ヲ開キ罷工委員會ヲ設ケテ一箇年以上持久戦ヲ續ケタ
ルカ一九二六年七月國民革命軍ノ北伐開始ニ伴ヒ目ラ對英國爭ノ方式
ヲ變更セサル可ラサルニ至リ一九二六年十月經濟絶交擴大ノ新形式採
用ヲ名トシテ一切ノ具體的運動ヲ停止セリ

然レトモ「コミンテルン」即チ蘇聯邦ヲ背景トシ五卅事件ヲ發端トシテ
起レル排英運動ハ英國ノ對支關係ニ甚大ナル影響ヲ及ボシ英國政府ハ
遂ニ一九二六年十二月二十六日有名ナル對支自由政策ニ歸スル聲明ヲ
發表シ其ノ政策ヲ一變セルカ右ニ拘ラス排英運動ハ國民革命外交ノ出
現ト共ニ終々猖獗ヲ極メ遂ニ一九二七年一月初頭ノ漢口英租界武力回
收事件ヲ誘起セリ右事態ニ對シ英國政府ハ一九二七年一月二十七日前

記解明ト同趣旨ノ第二次解明ヲ發シ其ノ態度ヲ明カニスル所アリタルカ
獨リ英國ノミナラス他ノ列強モ五卅事件ヲ期トシ若シク其ノ對支政策ヲ
變更スルノ已ムナキ事態ニ陷レリ

右ハ一ニ資本階級ニ外國資本ニ傾導セラルル支那獨特ノ事態ヲ利用シ
「コミンテルン」カ計畫セル政策圖ニ當リ共產主義ト民族主義トヲ合
致セシムルニ成功セル結果民族意識ヲ新ニシ群衆運動ヲ興隆セシメ得
タルコトニ歸着スルモノニシテ深ク其ノ淵源ヲ訊ヌルトキハ勞農外交
ノ成功ト云ハサルヲ得ス但シ其ノ後國民政府ノ共產黨弾壓ニ因リ遂ニ
蘇文階交ヲ殆クニ至レルハ「コミンテルン」ノ政策カ獨リ支那側ニ對
シテノミナラス列國側ニ對シテモ效キ過キタルノ結果ト見ラレ得サル
ニ非ス之ト共ニ當初排日ニ始マリ遂ニ排英運動ニ轉換セル五卅事件カ
日英國交恢復後ニ起レルコトモ注意ヲ要スル點ナルヘシ之等ノ點ハ又
最近ノ蘇支復交ニ付暗示スル所多シト謂ハサル可カラサルナリ

ref doc # 959-E

文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

目分、林 總 外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處、茲ニ添付セラレタル日本語ニ依ツテ誓カレ九頁ヨリ成ル支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況ト題スル誓状ハ日本政府（外務省）ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ抜粹ノ正ニシテ眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年三月十四日 於東京

林 總

右署名捺印ハ目分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

立會人 浦 部 勝 馬

OUTLINE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA AND MANCHURIA
(as of December 1932)

(By the Bureau of Asiatic Affairs, the Foreign Office)

CHAPTER II

Section 1

(Excerpt) Situation before the Manchurian Incident

6. Activities the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has displayed in Manchuria (pp. 229 - 234).

In connection with the above-mentioned movement of the Korean and Chinese Communists, the activities of the Russian Communist Party in Manchuria should be taken into consideration.

The Soviet Government, when formed for the first time, not only kept fighting a severe battle with the Mensheviks (Constitutional Democrats) in the country but also had to fight against the Allied Expeditionary Forces in Siberia as well as against the strong resistance of the so-called White Government in Siberia. In spite of these circumstances already around 1917, a party organ of the Bolsheviks was set up at Harbin, and it planned to overthrow White Russian General Holvatt who had been conducting anti-Bolshevik activities from his base in North Manchuria. For this purpose a systematic propaganda among his troops was begun. It was perhaps at this time that the Russian Communist Party's influence commenced to infiltrate Manchuria.

Later, these Russian Communists on one hand exerted themselves to keep in touch with the Communist Party at home, and on the other hand laid stress on propagating its movement among labourers in North Manchuria and especially personnel of the Chinese Eastern Railway. In order to effectuate a systematic expansion of their activities, they established the Communist Management Bureau of the Chinese Eastern Railway Zone in March 1920. It soon changed its name and was called the Prefectural Management Bureau of the Communist Party of the Chinese Eastern Railway Zone. Just at that time Shihiliyakov arrived at Harbin, having been clandestinely despatched by the Soviet Government, and his arrival there caused a remarkable progress in the movement of the Communists.

But China, who had been planning to recover her rights in North Manchuria ever since the Russian Revolution and especially to regain the Chinese Eastern Railway, first reestablished her police power along that Railway by force in March 1920, and then not only forcibly recovered her judicial power in the Railway Zone in October of the same year but also was able to gain joint control of the Railway with Russia in the so-called Chinese Eastern Renovation Treaty, and besides regained communication privileges along the Railway in January 1921. This was followed by her recovery of the right to administer municipalities within the zone in May, with the result that she came to hold actual control of the Railway. Because of this, the political influence the Soviet Union had over North Manchuria decreased very much and the Communists there were not a little retarded in their activities.

Hereupon the Russian Communist Party planned to build a so-called "Red Guild" which was outwardly legal and succeeded in having the Chinese authorities approve it by buying them off. Thus under cover of the legality of the guild, they began to be remarkably active. Then, as a result of the Russo-Chinese Agreement of March 1924 and the Russo-Mukden Regime Agreement of October 1924, China succeeded in obtaining various kinds of rights far greater than those obtained under the above-mentioned agreement renewing the Chinese Eastern Railway Treaty, the Soviet Union's political power in Manchuria seemed to decline all the more, but by virtue of these agreements, the interests of the Soviet Union were stabilized to a certain extent and so the Communist Party was able to work all the more easily, till at length, sometime about 1929, that detestable Bolshevism began exerting its influence over the Chinese personnel of the Chinese Eastern Railway, while its plottings against China gave rise to Kuo Sungling's rebellion against Cheng Tso-lin in December of the same year.

When Kuo rebelled against Chang, Ivanov, Chief of the Chinese Eastern Railway Bureau, who had been bent on sweeping the White Russians out of the Railway by taking advantage of loopholes in agreements among Russia, China and the Mukden Regime, demanded that China pay the fares in advance of troops transported in the Southern Line of the Chinese Eastern Railway and went the length of obstructing the transportation of these troops. The Mukden Regime then used its troops to

force on the operation of the Railway, whereupon the Soviet side went on a general strike. Affairs were thus highly complicated and finally in December 1925 the operation of the railroad was suspended. Whereupon, in order to be equal to the occasion, the Chinese authorities enforced martial law and went so far as to arrest and imprison Ivanov under the charge that he had committed a breach of the martial law, with the result that the relation between Russia and China became very strained for a while. It was, however, smoothed away soon on the 25th due to the negotiations between the authorities in Mukden and the Consul of the Soviet Union agreeing that the Chinese troops should be transported as usual and Ivanov be released.

Since the Kuo Incident, China has taken strict precautions against the Soviet Union's plots in Manchuria, and the ensuing one year and a half has elapsed quietly. In China proper too, Bolshevization was rendered extremely difficult as the following events succeeded each other: -- the failure of the Comintern's attempts to Bolshevize North China in April 1927, the search of the Soviet Embassy area in Peking by the Chinese, closely followed by the suppression of Comintern members in Nanking and Hankow, and the Nationalist Government's severance of diplomatic relations with Russia owing to the riot in Canton in December of the same year. Thereupon, it became apparent that the Soviet Union turned her attention to the Bolshevization of Manchuria and Mongolia. In 1928 she appointed the Chief of the Far Eastern Bureau of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs Melnikov Consul General and stationed him at Harbin. Since then that Consulate General has assumed the position of the highest leader of the Communist movement in North Manchuria behind the curtain besides being virtually the highest diplomatic organ of the Soviet Union in China.

During this period, the highest organ of the Soviet Communists in North Manchuria was the North Manchurian Committee of the All-Soviet Communist Party (otherwise known as the Harbin Committee), which was the successor of the above-mentioned Prefectural Office of the Communist Party in the Chinese Eastern Railway Zone. This committee, on the one hand under cover of consular organizations, and on the other hand with the aid of such "Soviet" agents besides its own direct cells as the Far Eastern Bank, Far Eastern Forestry "Trust", National

Police Preservation Bureau, and so on, as well as with the aid of various legitimate and publicly recognized Red trade unions, used to carry out the "Red" propaganda in a fairly positive and undisguised manner. But in view of the stiffened attitude of Manchurian and Chinese authorities following the seach of the Soviet Embassy in Peking in April 1927, Consul General Melnikov upon his arrival at his post changed the policy hithert adopted and concentrated intense efforts upon indirect and clandestine movements through such trade unions seemingly unconnected with the Communists.

On the 27th of May 1929, the Chinese authorities at Harbin, under the pretext of exposing Communists' secret gatherings, took such emergency measures as an official inspection of the Soviet Consulate General at Harbin, confiscation of a large number of documents, taking into custody approximately thirty Soviet nationals, ordering Melnikov to be confined in the Consulate, sending under guard to his residence Kuznetsov, former Soviet Consul General at Mukden, and ordering him to remain confined in the residence. In view of such, the Soviet Government, on the 31st of May, lodged a strong protest with the Chinese Government on the ground that the latter had violated the international law, and demanding that the detained Soviet nationals be released and that the confiscated documents and other objects be restored. At the same time, the Soviet Government declared that no privileges stipulated in the international law be hereafter granted to the Chinese Embassy and consulates in the Soviet Union.

In reality, however, the Soviet Government did not change in any way its treatment of Chinese officials, nor did it make any other reprisals. There is no concealing the fact that the Soviet Government, while ostensibly displaying a considerably firm attitude, had at the bottom intended to settle the case as peacefully as possible. This seemed to be due to the fact that in infiltrating Communism in Manchuria, the Soviet Union was in a very delicate position, from the standpoint of protecting its rights and interests in Manchuria, and that, therefore, it had to be very careful in determining its attitude towards China.

However, taking advantage of the conservative attitude on the part of the Soviet Union, Chinese authorities since July 1929 came to take such high-handed measures as dismissal of the director and the vice-director (Soviet nationals) of the Superintendent Bureau of the Chinese Eastern Railway, dismissal or casting of the Soviet nationals working in the main departments and sections of the Superintendent Bureau and those working as railway employees, employment of Chinese or White Russians in their place, expropriation of the Land Section, the Telegraph and Telephone Bureau, and libraries belonging to the same Railway, compulsory dissolution of the trade unions and the Railway Employees' Unions situated along the said Railway, discontinuation of various Soviet commercial organs, and so on. Consequently, the diplomatic relations between the two countries were severed on the 19th, and all at once the attitude of the Soviet Union became stiffened. The Soviet request for the restoration of the status quo along the Eastern Chinese Railway was followed by positive military operations against the Chinese Army in the district of LANSUOLI late in November. The tide of war being entirely against the Chinese Army, however, the Mukden Regime first of all surrendered, and was obliged to sign the humiliating Protocol at ULAN-ULUSK on 22 December as well as to promise the restoration of the status quo along the Chinese Eastern Railway. On this occasion, it was decided that a formal conference be convened at Moscow in January 1930 for the settlement of various issues concerning the said Railway for the adjustment of overall diplomatic relations between the two countries and for the settlement of trade problems.

At the Moscow Conference, the two countries disagreed on many points so that the conference was unduly prolonged. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union, taking advantage of the prestige she had gained over the Chinese as the result of the above-mentioned military operations, attempted to expel White Russians from North Manchuria and to destroy anti-Communist organs. In addition, the Soviet Union did everything in her power to expand Communist organs behind the scenes. Through the instrumentality of commercial organs and in utter disregard of profit, she attempted to Bolshevize Manchuria, using as her base the Chinese Eastern Railway, stronghold of her influence in Manchuria. On the other hand, as the

result of a local system reform executed in line with the reform of the administrative districts within the Soviet Union (the prefectural system being replaced by county or district system), the North Manchurian Prefectural Committee of All-Soviet Communist Party, highest organ of the Soviet Communist Party in North Manchuria, was renamed the North Manchurian Committee of All-Soviet Union Communist Party. It is also said that in view of the peculiar political conditions in North Manchuria, the Soviet Union, after the settlement of the Russo-Chinese dispute, established as the highest direction organ a triumvirate system, above the North Manchuria Committee, appointing as chiefs Consul General MALIVINOV, vice-director of the Chinese Eastern Railway ELSHINOV, and the director of the Superintendent Bureau LINDAI.

In the meantime, the trade union, which used to play the most important part in the Bolshevik movement in North Manchuria, side by side with the regular Communist Party organs, had been reduced to a completely behind-the-scenes existence since its dissolution was ordered by the Chinese authorities on the occasion of the Russo-Chinese dispute. Nevertheless, out of reach of the watchful eyes of Chinese officials, it carried on its underground activities, which became notably positive after 1931. On the other hand, the North Manchurian Committee of the All-Soviet Young Men's Lenin Communist Association, whose chief mission was to bring up Communists, frequently gave secret reading parties and short lecture courses, as well as carrying on its activities also through various clubs and sport associations.

During the Russo-Chinese dispute in 1929, the Volunteers' Fighting Unit, organized as the nucleus of the All-Soviet Young Men's Lenin Communist Association, had frequently disturbed the rear of the Chinese Army by such atrocious activities as assassination, overturn of trains, destruction of the railway lines and various buildings. In view of this fact, the Soviet Union was apparently working out a plan to use these members of the said association, who had formerly been members of the railway units, as the employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway and to let them defend the Railway to the last, in case of emergency.

Certificate of Authenticity

I, who occupy the post of Chief of the Archives and Documents Section in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of five pages and entitled "Outline of the Communist Movement in China and Manchuria" is an exact copy of the excerpt from an official document in the custody of the Japanese Government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Certified at Tokyo on this 14th day of March 1947.

HAYASHI, Kacru (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

At the same place,

on the same date.

Witness: URABE, Katsuma (seal)

959F

Defence Doc.

文書、出所並ニ成立ニ関スル證明書

自分、林馨ハ外務省文書課長、職ニ居ル者ナル處、
茲ニ添付セラレタル日本語ニ依ッテ書カレ五頁ヨリ成ル
支那及滿洲ニ於ケル共產運動概況ト題スル書類ハ
日本政府（外務省）、保管ニ係ル公文書ノ抜萃
、正確ニシテ眞實ナル寫ニナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年三月十四日

於東京

林馨 (林)

右署名捺印ハ自分、面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

立會人 浦部勝馬 (浦部)

No. 1

Defence Doc. 959 F

No. 2

昭和二年十二月現在

支那及滿洲之共產運動概況

(中) 51

213

外務省亞細亞局

第二章第二節滿洲事變前狀況(沿革)

第六蘇聯邦共產黨滿洲之活動(一九二〇—二二)

以上鮮支人共產主義者、運動、開闢、考察、要スルハ
 蘇聯邦共產黨、滿洲ニ於テハ運動アリ、ス
 勞農政權、成立、當初國內ニ於テハ、(正憲民主
 黨)、激烈ニ闘争ヲ續ケ、ル、ミ、下、又西北聯盟ニ於テ
 聯合軍、云兵等所謂白色政權、擴大、ル、抗ニ通
 過ニタルカ、斯ナル事能ハスニ在リ、下、既ニ一九二〇年、頃、ホ
 リセ、下、系、黨機關哈爾濱ニ於テ結成、ス、當時北
 滿ニ據リ、及、ホ、下、東、動、中、下、白、ホ、下、
 將軍、打倒、計畫、組織的ニ畫、軍隊内、
 宣傳ヲ開始セリ、滿洲ニ於テハ蘇聯邦共產黨系
 勢力、増進、此、時代ニ始、ル、ト認、ス、
 世後、反等、亦露共產運動者ハ本國ニ於テハ共產黨
 一、連絡ニ努、ル、一方北滿、労働者殊ニ東支鐵道
 従業員ニ對、ル、宣傳力ヲ注、活動、組織的、
 大、回、爲、一九二〇年三月哈爾濱ニ東支鐵道附
 屬地共產黨事務局ヲモ、組織セリ、黨
 事務局ハ鐵道、無、東支鐵道附屬地共產黨
 黨務事務局ト改稱、ス、タルカ、哈、下、縣、

Refrence Doc 959-F

邦政府、密收ミタル「ミヒリヤコ」
末哈、結果北滿ニ於ケル共產運動ハ、著シ
キ進境ヲ示スニ至リ
然ルニ、赤露國、革命以來北滿ニ於ケル其
權益就中、東支鐵道、回收ヲ企圖シ、未
ニルカ支那、一九二〇年三月武力ヲ以テ完
シ、東支鐵道沿線、警察權ヲ回收、次
テ同年十月附屬地内司法權ヲ強制回
收スルト同時ニ所謂東支鐵道ハ依
同鐵道ヲ露及谷辦「ラ」シテ更ニ翌一年
ニ一月沿線ニ於ケル通信權ヲ收テ
之月附屬地市政權ヲ何シテ回收ニテ
事實上同鐵道管理、實權ヲ掌握スル
ニ及ヒ北滿ニ於ケル蘇聯邦、政治的勢力
ハ甚ニク失墜ニ從フテ同國共產黨、活
動セ不尠没滞ヲ来スニ至リ

(以下次頁一)

No. 3

9594

No. 21

No. 21

PURL: <http://www.legal-tools.org/doc/575678/>

Defence Doc. 959F

No. 5

「ア」この東南亞細亞のことは、同書
件、結果露支関係、一時緊張を
奉天官憲と蘇聯領事と交渉
結果幾度たり解決したる軍隊
輸送に慣例に依ること並に、已
釋放の條件として二十五日解決せり
郭松齡事件後支那側に滿洲に
於ける蘇聯邦側の策謀に對し警
戒を嚴にするに至るも爾後一年有
半に無事を経過せり然るに一九二七
年四月に於ける北支に於ける
赤化計画失敗に歸し北京蘇聯邦
大使館区域搜索せられ續いて南京、
漢口に於ける弾壓並に同年十二月
廣東暴動事件に因る國民政府、
對露國交斷絶、結果支那本部
に於ける赤化運動著しく困難を加
ふるや其の全力を滿蒙方面に傾倒
する、方策に専らするに至るも、如
一九二八年外務人民委員部極東
局長^{Мелинков}に總領事を任命して哈
爾濱に駐在せしめ爾來同總領事館に事實
上支那に於ける蘇聯邦最高、外交機關
タルと共に裏面に於て北滿に於ける共產運動、
最高指導者たる、地位を立つに至り

[illegible]

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110. 7

死。此支那側。於一九三九年七月以來東支鐵道。正副管理局長(蘇聯人)之罷免。管理局同主要部課。蘇聯人及該線。亦於蘇聯人從業員。解職若。追放。支那人又。自系路人。以之。同鐵道土地課。電信電話局。圖書館等。收容。同時。沿線。於此。職事。同盟及鐵道從業員同盟。解散。各種。蘇聯商。業機關。肉體。等強壓的。結果。一九三九年。外交關係斷絕。蘇聯。能。心。心。硬化。東支鐵道。現狀回復。要求。終。十一月。下旬。滿洲。用。方面。於。積極的。軍事行動。開始。支那。軍。利。ア。ス。ラ。奉。天。政府。先。以。屈服。十二月。二十二日。ハ。ロ。フ。ス。之。二。於。屈辱的。議定書。調印。不。取。東支鐵道。現狀回復。約。同鐵道。問題。是。並。金。般。的外交關係。回復問題。及。通商問題。等。解決。為。自。一九三九年。一月。莫斯科。於。正式會議。南。俄。ス。コ。ト。ト。リ。莫。斯。科。正式會議。兩者。主張。相。容。レ。ル。莫。ス。タ。リ。長。ク。澄。着。ウ。見。ル。ニ。至。ラ。サ。リ。レ。カ。此。同。蘇聯。側。前。記。軍事行動。依。リ。支那。側。与。ヘ。ル。勢。威。ヲ。利用。シ。北。滿。於。自。系。路。人。驅逐。及。反。共。產。機關。撲滅。ヲ。策。シ。且。面。面。的。赤。化。機關。擴。充。ニ。向。心。特。滿洲。ニ。於。ケ。ル。其。勢。力。ヲ。城。ヲ。東支鐵道。根據。ト。シ。商業。機關。名。隱。シ。其。實。利。ヲ。外。視。シ。盛。ニ。赤。化。策。謀。

Defence Doc

、誠ニアリ而シテ從來北滿ニ於テハ蘇聯邦共産黨甚重
機關アリ、金蘇聯邦共産黨北滿縣委員會一九二九年日
リ三〇年ニ至ル蘇聯邦本国内、行政區劃改正ニ伴フ當地
方的組織、廢止（縣制ヲ廢シテ州又ハ地方制ヲ施行ス）
ニ應ジ金蘇聯邦共産黨北滿委員會ト改稱セラレタ
リ尚（一説ニ據ルハ蘇聯邦側ニ於テハ一九二九年蘇支紛争
落着キト共ニ北滿ニ於ケル特殊政治狀態ニ鑑ミ黨運動
ノ最高指導機關トシテ北滿委員會トシ三巨頭制ヲ設
ケ總領事「ナリニコフ」東支副理事「長」エムシヤ「フ」同
管理局長「ルードツイ」ヲ以テ之ニ充テタリト云フ
又共産黨直ニハ機關、外廊トシテ之ト相伍シ北滿ニ
於ケル赤化運動ニ取テ重要ナル役割ヲ演ズル職業
同盟ニ蘇支紛争、際チ邦官黨ヨリ解散セラルテヨリ
以來其ノ存在、全ク裏面的ナルニ至レルモ其後技巧ニ

次頁ニ續ク

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No. 9

主部官憲、主現ヲ避キ、潜行の運動、續々殊一九三二年
以來漸々確固となり他方共産黨員養成、主々之使命トス
ル蘇聯邦「一二」主義共産青年會「コムソモ」トシテ滿
本員會トモ秘匿讀書會舞習會ヲ類集、三團體在外
各種俱樂部「ス」團體主ヲ通シ活躍ヲ続ケタルガ
一九三五至「コムソモ」此ノ手段トシテ組織セラルタニ戰闘義
勇隊リ一九三九年蘇支紛爭中略殺、列車顛覆、鐵道
及諸建造物、破壞等、兇暴行動ヲ以テ支那軍、
背後ヲ脅カシタルト一再テサリシ終致、鑑ミ蘇聯邦
側ニハ鐵道隊、除隊兵タル「コムソモ」員ヲ以テ東支
鐵道從來員ニ充テ有事、際之ヲ死守セラル、計畫
進メ居リタルニ、如シ

General Condition of the Communist Movement in China and

Manchuria (as of December, 1932 (7th year of Showa))

by The Bureau of Asiatic Affairs, the Foreign Office.

Chapter II Paragraph 2. The Situation after the Manchurian
Incident (excerpt)

5. The harassing plan against the Japanese Army in the rear by the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (from page 251 to page 260)

Furthermore, as a result of the arrest of a Korean on April 16th, by
a police officer of the Saishin police-station in Korea, it was found
that, together with the above-mentioned activities of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union in North Manchuria, a harassing plan against the
Japanese Army in the rear were being carried out by the Party. That is,
on that day as referred above, a certain suspicious Korean was arrested at
Saishin, and as a result of an investigation it was discovered, contrary
to one's expectation that he had received secret orders from the Soviet
authorities in Vladivostok to blast the bridges on the Yalu, the Deido,
the Seison and other rivers, and also, in order to harass the Japanese
Army in the rear, he had landed on the coast of Ryujo, Kyojo County,
Yankychoku Province on April 14; Six boxes of explosives containing, 89
pieces, weighing 56 ken (T.N. approximately 210 kg) and four pistols were
found in the sand pile near the seaside where he had landed, and other

accomplices were also arrested.

All of them were either the regular and candidate members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or the members of the Red Labour Association in Vladivostok. On about March 19th, of the same year (1932), they were taken to a spot called Torai about two Ri (T.N. about 5 miles) east of Vladivostok by the order, of G.P.U. there and they were instructed on the method of how to blast bridges. On 21st, of the same month, after receiving an explanation from Natchalinic, President of the G.P.U to the effect that the Soviet Union would suffer enormous disadvantages as Japan had recently dispatched her forces to Manchuria in succession to invade it, they were entrusted with an important mission to blast the Shingishu Bridge at first with firm resolution; and if this is impossible, should blast the bridge on the Daido or on the Seisen in order to check the movements of the Japanese Army, by disturbing the peace in Korea and to propagate the principle of communism by taking the advantage of confusion at that time. On the night of 23rd, accompanied by the vice-president and another, they loaded a G.P.U. launch with the explosives, pistols etc., and started out from Vladivostok on it. On 24th, they reached Hauloka, the sea-coast of about twelve Ri (T.N. about 30 miles) east of Vladivostok, where they took another sailing-boat. They loaded it with coal, water and rations and left there; they reached Poset after continuing a stormy voyage for nine days and stayed there ten days for a rest. On 21st, of April under cover of the night, they left there and landed at the spot mentioned above (T.N. Ryujo, Kyojo County, Kenkyohoku Province). After landing there, they buried arms and explosives in the

and at once, they tried to return the boat, which was also seized by Japanese police officers.

According to the confession made by these criminals, twelve Chinese members of the Party had gone to Manchuria on the same mission by rail starting from Vladivostok on March 21st. Other communists, who had been entrusted with the similar mission, had entered Tungpientso after they had failed to destroy railways; when the same district fell into confusion in July, of the same year, they gave the Great Sword Bandits the funds which they had received for blasting project and took activities in combination with the Communist Party.

Though the above-mentioned scheme of the Soviet Communists was negative, and not considered to be a positive one, the suppression of the communists by the Japanese and Manchurian authorities caused all sorts of terroristic incidents on the whole after that. But the activities of the communists were still continued in secret. In June, Vladimir, Bogdanovitch, Mucchinikov, Konstanchin, Shilioukov and other leading members of the Party were dispatched from the Comintern to reorganize the Committee of North Manchuria. By order of Special G.P.U. in Vladivostok, they tried to check the Japanese organ of secret information and to enlarge the espionage activities of the Soviet Union. There was an indication that they gave a secret support to the anti-Mirin Army and other bandits in the eastern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and that there was a certain doubt that they took rather suspicious actions when Su Ping-won plotted a treason in Manchuria in September of the same year.

6. RIGHT ORGANIZATION OF SOVIET
COMMUNIST PARTY IN MANCHURIA

The highest organ of the Communist Party in Manchuria is the Committee of the Soviet Communist Party in North Manchuria. This organ is under the direct control of the Far Eastern Frontier Committee of the Soviet Communist Party at Khabarovsk (the Committee for the Far Eastern District), and it receives orders from the Moscow Control Committee of the All-Soviet Communist Party through this Committee for the Far Eastern District. At first the U.S.S.R. treated Harbin as a prefecture of her own territory, and the highest organ of the Party in the Harbin District was once named the Harbin Prefectural Committee. (For some time it was a chapter of the Maritime Province Committee at Vladivostok.) It seems that it was once called the Khabarovsk Branch Office of the Far Eastern Bureau.) The reason why the present name of the Committee of the Communist Party in North Manchuria was adopted about 1930 has been stated in the foregoing paragraph. The Committee for the North Manchurian District was established in the Soviet Consulate-general at Harbin, and it consists of 1 responsible clerk, 1 political leader, 1 secretary, 1 organization chief, 1 chief of the agitation propaganda section, 1 chief of the women section, and other 5 commissioners. All members of the committee are officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, consular officials and clerks of the Bank of the Far East. Under the Committee of the Communist Party in North Manchuria, there are 2 district committees (raions)

at Harbin and 18 Chinese Eastern Railway "cells" (yacheikas). The 1st and 2nd raicoms also have a total number of 14 cells (yacheikas). Every one of these yacheikas on the Chinese Eastern Railway line is to be formed, when there is a membership of over 3, according to the instruction of the Khabarovsk Frontier Committee. These yacheikas are detailed for the task of leading the organs of the labor unions and the Young Men's Society of the Communist Party (comosol) in the vicinity. The organizations of these organs are shown below:

The Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party of North Manchuria

(11 members) (in the Consulate-general at Harbin)

The 1st "Raicom" (Harbin "Half District")

Yacheikas	Machine works	Engine-sheds
	The 'Moscow Barrack' Street	
		The '36th-rêng' Street
	The 8th District	Chestnut Zaton
	The Deli Bank	

The 2nd "Raicom" (New Town)

Yacheikas	Superintendent's Bureau	Harbin Station
	The Chunks Street	Old Harbin
	Michaokou	Printing houses
	Westren (in the 'Officers' Street)	

The East Line of the Chinese Eastern Railway

Yacheikas	Pogranichniys	Haiochontzu
-----------	---------------	-------------

	Muling	Hangtschotzu
	Imiempo	'shihho

The West Line of the Chinese Eastern Railway

Yachaike	Manchuli	Djersinor (?)
	Heiler	Bhotu(?)
	Chichihor	Intr
	Tuichingshan	

The South Line of the Chinese Eastern Railway

Yachaike	Kuanshengtzu	Phai(?)
	Haimon	Leohsickuo
	Shuangchengpo	

The auxiliary organs of the Party are the labor unions, the Communist Young Men's Society and the Communist Boy Scouts.

The highest organ of the labor unions is the North Manchurian Council which, belonging to the Red Laborers' "International", is under command of the Khabarovsk Labor Union Council for the Far East. This Labor Union Council was established in the Soviet Consulate-general at Harbin, and consists of 1 president, 1 chief of the organization section 1 private secretary and 4 commissioners. Under the Council are 11 labor unions (doreom) which are as follows:

The Labor Union of Railway Workers

The Union of "Soviet" Officials

The Labor Union of Metal Workers

The Union of Motor Transportation Workers

The Labor Union of Restaurant Workers

The Medical and Health Unions

The Labor Union of Garment Workers.

The Labor Union of the Traffic Workers

in local districts

The Labor Union of Teachers

The Labor Union of Artists

The Labor Union of press-men

Under each "dorecom" are district councils ("Uchicom") under which there are local councils ("mestcom"). The most important one of these labor unions is the Labor Union of the workers of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Its organization is shown below.

Union of the Railway workers of the Chinese Eastern Railway ("Dorecom")

(In the Celler of the Superintendent Bureau of the Chinese Eastern Railway at Harbin)

Harbin "Uchicom"

Mestcom	Mechanized Workshop	The Eighth District
	An Engine Shed	The Superintendent Bureau
	The Commercial Agency	Old "Harbin"
	Kwanchengtzu	Hsienmiao

Manchuli "Uchicom"

	Manchuli	"Doloi-nor" (?)
	Priler	Mientuko
Westcom -	"Tuhot" (?)	"Delenton" (?) (Chelentun)
	Tsitsihar	Inta
	"Sun" (?)	Micotsitzu

Dogranichinsky "Uchicom"

	Dogranichinsky	Hsiaoehongtzu
Westcom -	Tapingling	Mulin
	Beilin	

Hongtsohotzu "Uchicom"

	Hongtsohotzu	Shihtouhotzu
Westcom -	Daiengo	Hoc'ehshen
	Shihho	

The highest organ of the Communist Young Men's Association at Harbin is called the Committee in North Manchukuo of All Soviet Leninism Communist Young Men's Association ("comsomol"), and it is in the Superintendent Bureau of the Chinese Eastern Railway at Harbin. It consists of responsible private secretary, a political leader, a private secretary and three committeemen. Under this committee, there are two "raicoms" in the city (these are classified in seventeen "yachekas") and (sixteen) "yachekas" along the railway-line of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The "comschool" is an organ whose mission is to foster the communism among the youth up to twenty-seven years of age. In Soviet-Russia they attach special importance to the guidance and development of communism. Particularly in view of the Soviet-China Incident of 1929, the policy of militarization of the Chinese Eastern Railway was adopted since 1930 under the leadership of the members of the "comschool", which consisted of either discharged soldiers from the railway corps or the technical corps in Soviet-Russia in order to defend the Railway desperately by all the means and to carry and terroristic activities in case of emergency; And it has completed the organization of the guards, the terrorist corps and the propaganda party to meet any emergency. A short military course and political training, were being conducted in each club and the like under the name of all sorts of "sports" or a "group" of the men sharing the same tastes. And in April 1931, the plotting of the explosion along the Chinese Eastern Railway-line was carried out by these young communists as mentioned above.

The communist boy scout is called the Boy's Expeditionary Party or "Pioneer," and is similar to that of the Boy Scout organized in every country. This is an organ in which the boys and girls are conspired with each other and infused with the sentiment of communism and Pan-Sovietism.

Under the direct guidance of the "comssec," there are eight units in the area of new street at Harbin, fourteen units in the "wharf" area at Harbin, twelve units in the western line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, eight units in the southern line of it and twelve units in the eastern line of it.

According to the latest inquiry, it showed that the number of the Soviet-Russian communists in Northern Manchukuo was about two thousand and five hundred, and though most of them were the Soviet Russians, there were a few Chinese and Koreans in it, and until some years ago, there were one or two Japanese communists, but recently there seems to be no Japanese in the group. The members of the communist party are divided into three classes, namely, regular members, candidate members, and sympathizers.

The above-mentioned classification is the inside organization, of the communist party of Soviet Union but its external organization is classified as follows:

- (1) The consulate.
- (2) The Chinese Eastern Railway.
- (3) Various economic organs.
- (4) Schools

Of the above-mentioned organizations, the Soviet-Russian consulate-general at Harbin occupied the position as the

highest organ of the Soviet-Russian diplomatic and consular bodies in China during the period of discord between Soviet-Russia and China; It not only has the function of regular consulates in substance similar to consulates of other countries, but it can be called the control organ of the "Soviet" movement which gives orders to whole China. The office of this consulate is located in the building adjacent to the club of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and the functions of all the communications, guards, and the maintenance of secret matters are provided in this building.

Under its control, there are the consulate-general at Mukden, the consulate at Manchuli, Tsitsihar, Pogranichnaya, and Heihe; and this is also closely related with the consulate at Dairen and Seoul.

The present system of the East China Railway is based on the agreement concluded between Russia and China, and the same between Mukden and Russia; It consists of the General Manager's office, the Board of Directors, the Board of Secretaries and the Superintendent Bureau. It is provided with eighteen branch offices of the commercial and industrial section of its Superintendent Bureau in various quarters in Manchukuo, Tientsin, Shanghai and Dairen, etc. The number of the railway-workers is about eight thousand and six hundred Chinese and seven thousand and six hundred Soviet-Russians,

but the actual power is controlled mostly by Soviet-Russians. Besides, there are the laborer's organization section, theaters, "Grand Hotel" and the purchasing association of railway-workers of Chinese Eastern Railway controlled by the same Railway. As for the various economic organs, there are agencies of Commercial Affairs, the Far Eastern Bank ("the Dali Bank"), the National Insurance Bureau ("the Gosstroska"), the Grain-Export Company ("the Export Trub"), Ussuri Railway Agency, and the chapter of the national corps of merchant shipping at Harbin. And under the control of this agency of Commercial affairs, there are syndicates, trusts and companies for spinning, petroleum, Far Eastern forestry, Far Eastern coal, rubber industry, musical instruments, motion pictures, tobaccos, mineral waters and sake-brewing.

As for schools, there are about twenty primary, middle and other schools at various places in Harbin and along the railway-line; and for public opinion, there are various newspapers being conducted. And all these organization should regarded as the external organ of the communist party of Soviet-Russia.

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, who occupy the post of the Chief of the Archives Section of the Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 7 pages and entitled "GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COMMUNISTIC MOVEMENT IN CHINA AND MANCHURIA - Excerpt from 'THE SITUATION AFTER THE MANCHURIAN INCIDENT'" is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government Foreign Office.

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 14 day of March, 1947.

/s/ HAYASHI, Kaoru (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

At the same place,
on this same date.

Witness: /s/ URABE, Katsumi (seal)

支那及歐洲ニ於ケル共産運動の概況

第二、宣傳二種城隍神像以資了解（檢率）

尙前計畫、邦共産業ノ北滿ニ於ケル活動ト併行シ日本軍ノ地方擾亂ノ陰謀ハ
同業ニ依リ進メラレツツアルコト四月十六日明憲常務警察署員ノ一團鮮人並
同ノ結果暴露セラルルニ至レリ同チ同日清邊ニ於テ活動不能ノ一團鮮人並
セラレ政府ノ結果暴露ニモ暴露、邦官警ノ命令テ受ケ、遼江、大同江、清
川江等ノ河ノ邊チ擾亂シ日本軍ノ地方擾亂セム力益々多ク、擾亂チ激化シ
テ四月十四日威北師範部區域南岸ニ上陸シタルコト判明シ上陸地點近ノ海
岸砂中ヨリ、(六條、八百九十六圓、五十六圓)、槍銃(四挺)等多数發見
見セラレ他ノ共犯者五名モ逮捕セラレタリ

Key No. 957-4

年三月十九日頃相商シテ蒲湖「ゲ、ベ、ウ」ニ出陣ヲ命セラレ蒲湖軍方約
 二里ノ地南東ニ進行セラレ同地ニ於テ「ゲ、ベ、ウ」ノ方ニテ敵ヲ殺セラル
 カ同月二十一日ニ至リ「ゲ、ベ、ウ」ニ至リ「ナチヤリニツク」ヨリ最近日本
 ハ月リニ出兵シテ蒲湖ヲ攻撃シ其ノ邦ノ要ル不利食甚大ナルモノアルヲ以テ
 死ノ兵ヲ以テ先ツ蒲湖州ニ侵入シ敵スヘク若シ之カ進行ニ都合良シカラ
 サル場合ハ大同江若クハ清川江ヲ破壊シ以テ日本軍ノ行動ヲ阻害シ滿内ノ治
 安ヲ亂シ其ノ喧ニ殺シ共主權ノ宣傳ヲ爲スヘキ旨ノ重大使命ヲ與ヘラレ
 二十三日夜「ゲ、ベ、ウ」ニ至リ其外一名暗殺ニテ「ゲ、ベ、ウ」ニ付ノ「ラ
 シチ」ニ至リ、幾時其地ヲ探入ミ之ニ入り蒲湖出陣二十四日蒲湖ノ東方約十
 二里ノ海岸「ハウロカ」ニ着キ同地ニテ敵ノ帆船ニ襲撃ヘ淡水、食糧ヲ奪取
 ミ出陣セルカ機銃ヲ撃ケ九日目ニ至リ「ボセツト」ニ到着セルヲ以テ十日同
 所ニ滞在シ本陣ノ四月十二日夜敵ニ襲シ同所前記地ニ上陸セルモノ
 ニシテト敵軍ヲ襲撃シ、其ノ中ニ其ノ船ヲ直チニ引返サシメタルモノナルカ
 右機銃モ我軍ノ遺棄ニ成リ奪取セラレタリ
 右軍ノ隊中人少シニ據レハ支那人黨員十二名モ同一使命ヲ帯ヒテ三月二十

一日浦洞出發、浦洞州ニ赴キタル由ナルカ同様ノ使者ヲ帶ヒタル共産黨員ニシテ、道路險阻不測ナリシ爲メ其ノ旅費道路ニ入り同年七月間地方混亂ニ陥ルヤ、破工作金トシテ受領セル資金ヲ大刀會匪其他ニ支給シ共産黨トノ共同作戰ヲ裁ミタルモノアリ

以上、各部共産黨ノ策動ハ防衛的ノモノニシテ、經濟的企圖トハ認メラレサルト共ニ日滿官費ノ共産黨匪隊ノ結果此ノ類ノ「テロ」事件ハ其後大体ニ於テ其ノ赤チヲ得テルモ共産黨ノ策動ハ依然續ニ續セラレ六月ニハ「コミンテルン」ヨリ「ウラデミル、ボグダノウイチ、アウエエチニコフ」及「コンスタンチン、シリユーコフ」其他ノ有力共産黨員ヲ派遣シテ北滿委員會ノ設置シテ行ヒ浦洞特別「ゲ、ベ、ウ」ノ指令ニ基キ日本朝鮮邊境ノ妨害、匪隊ヲ率使、其ノ應援ヲ圖リ、支那東部ニ於ケル反吉林軍其他ノ匪隊ヲ率ニ援助セル事アリ其後同年九月滿洲里ニ於テ蘇炳文ノ等々率領ルヤ之ニ對シ相當の對ナル行ニ出テタル事ナキニアラス

第六 中華ニ於ケル蘇聯邦共産黨最北ノ組織

遼瀋ニ於ケル蘇聯邦共産黨ノ最高機關ハ蘇聯邦共産黨北滿委員會ナリ
同委員會ハ「ハバロフスク」ニ設テ蘇聯邦共産黨極東邊境委員會（極東地方
委員會）ニ直屬シ同委員會ヲ經テ莫斯科全蘇聯邦共産黨中央委員會ノ
推擡ヲ受ク蘇聯邦共産黨初ハ爾賓ヲ自己領域内ノ點ト同視シ同地方ニ
於ケル最高機關ニハ爾賓縣委員會ノ名ヲ付シタルモ「又浦潮」ニ在ル
沿海縣委員會ノ支部トナシタルコトアリ更ニ「ハバロフスク」極東局
支部等ノ名ヲ冠シタルコトモアルガ如シ「一九三〇年ノ頃現在ノ北滿
委員會ノ名稱ヲ用フルニ至リタルハ前節ニ記述セル所ノ如シ北滿委員會
會ハ在ハ爾賓蘇聯邦共産黨領域内ニ置カレ責任書記、政治指導員、秘書
組織部長、煽動宣傳部長、婦人部長各一名外委員五名ヨリ成ル是等ノ
委員ハ東支鐵道職員、領事館員、極東銀行員等ヨリ成ル北滿委員會ノ
下ニハ爾賓市内ニ二個ノ方面委員會「ライコム」及十八箇ノ東支
沿線機關「ヤチエイカ」アリ尙餘一及第二「ライコム」ノ下ニハ
員ニ合計十四ノ細胞「ヤチエイカ」アリ東支沿線ノ各「ヤチエイ

Ref. No. # 759-G

全露共產黨北滿委員會（委員十一名）（於國賓館領事館內）

所屬「マヂエイカ」上機械工場鐵關庫

第二「ライコム」(新市街)

所屬	一ノチエイカ
馬	軍
家	國
作	街
印刷所	哈爾賓國

Ref No # 951-CT

Ref No # 959-9

東支鐵道西部線

所屬「ヤチエイカ」

「ボクラニーデナヤ」小城子
綽 梭 橫道河子
一面坡 阿什河

東支鐵道西部線

所屬「ヤチエイカ」

滿洲里
海拉爾
瀋陽
對青山
安達
「シヤライノール」
「ブヘト」

東支鐵道南部線

所屬「ヤチエイカ」

寬城子
雙坡堡
「ブハイ」
老少翁

第一ノ特別顧問トシテハ陸軍顧問、共産党代表、並ニ年少佐團長アリ
 陸軍顧問ノ最高機關ハ北滿評議會ニシテ赤色部隊ヲイソクイシヨオル
 ニ兼テハハ陸軍顧問ハ市評議會ノ管下ニ屬ス同評議會ハ齊シク冷河實録
 部員ハ市員内ニ在リ議長一名、總務部長一名、秘書一名、並ニ四名ヨリ成リ其ノ
 下ニ左ノ十一部ノ陸軍顧問ハ「ドルコム」ニ在リ

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水經從業口圖

問答

聖學六經爲宗旨









各一ドルコムにノ下ニ匯送目金（「ウチコム」）ナリキ事ニ其ノ下ニ送付万
目金（「メストコム」）ナリト右際目金中及至要ナルハ更支拂濟然
目金ナルカ其ノ構成左ノ如シ

六六學塾然學員同盟（「ドルコム」）（右）宮古島造船工場の下（左）

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此の所は...

「ボクラニイチヤ」
「ウチコム」

「メストコム」

「ウチコム」

「メストコム」

「ボクラニイチヤ」

大平

海

小坡子

橋

子

堤

河

山

Hy. H. # 959-G

ハル賓ニ於ケル共產青年會最高機關ハ全蘇聯邦「レーニン」主義共產黨
青年會（「コムソモール」）北滿委員會ト稱シハ爾省東支鐵道管理局内
ニ在リ責任秘書政治指導員、秘書各一名及委員三名ヨリ成リ其ノ下ニ市
内ニ二個ノ「ライコム」（之ヲ十七ノ「ヤチエイカ」ニ區別ス）及東支
鐵道沿線「ヤチエイカ」（十六）ヲ置ク
「コムソモール」ハ年齢二十七才迄ノ青年ニ共產主義ヲ養成スルヲ使命
トスル機關ニシテ蘇聯邦ニ於テハ特ニ之カ指導機關ヲ重要視シ殊ニ一九
二九年ノ東支事件ニ鑑ミ一朝有事ノ際ニ於テ全員一致東支鐵道ヲ死守シ
「テロ」手段ヲ敢行セシムル爲、蘇聯邦内ノ鐵道沿又ハ特設隊ノ除隊兵
タル「コムソモール」員ヲ中心トスル東支鐵道軍事化政策ナルモノ一九
三〇年來實施セタレ有事ノ場合ニ於ケル準備隊、「テロ」隊、宣傳隊等
ノ組織完成シ軍事講習、政治教習等ハ各種「スポーツ」又ハ同好者「グ
ループ」等ノ名目ノ下ニ各俱樂部其他ニ於テ實行セラレツツアリタルカ
一九三一年四月東支沿線爆破ノ陰謀カ是等青年共產黨員ノ手ニ依リテ爲
サレタルコト前述ノ通りナリ

Ref No #959-4

共產少年團ハ少年探險隊又ハ「ピオネール」トモ稱シ各國ニ組織セラレ
居ル「ボーイスカウト」ト同様ノモノニシテ少年少女ヲ結託セシメ之ニ
共產主義及「ソヴィエト」中必主義ノ思想ヲ注入スル機關ナリ
「コムソモール」ノ直接指導ヲ受ケ哈爾濱新市街地區ニ八ヶ支隊、同埠
頭地區ニ十四ヶ支隊、東支頭部ニ十二ヶ支隊、同市部ニ八ヶ支隊、
東部部ニ十二ヶ支隊アリ
最近ノ調査ニ依レハ北滿ニ於ケル該團共產黨員ノ數ハ約二千五百名ニ
シテ大部分ハ蘇聯邦人ナルモ他ニ少數ノ支那人及朝鮮人アリ特年前進ハ
日本人黨員一兩名アリタルモ最近ニハ存在セサルカ如シ黨員ハ正當員價
補黨員及同情黨員ノ三種ニ區分セラル
以上ハ蘇聯邦共產黨ノ裏面の組織ナルカ更ニ之カ裏面の組織トシテハ

- (一) 領事館
- (二) 東支頭道
- (三) 經濟機關
- (四) 學校

等ヲ舉クルコトヲ得

右ノ内、哈爾濱蘇聯邦總領事館ハ蘇支斷交時代ニ於ケル在支蘇聯邦外交及領事機關ノ最高機關タルノ地位ニ在リ、單ニ列國ノ領事館ノ如キ實質ヲ具フルニ止ラス、全文ニ號令スル「ソヴイェト」運動ノ中心機關トモ稱スヘク其ノ建物ハ東支鐵道俱樂部ト隣接シ凡有通信、警備、機密保持ノ機能備ハリ居レリ

其ノ管下ニハ奉天總領事館、滿洲里、齊々哈爾濱、「ボクラニイチナヤ」黒河ノ各領事館アリ又大連並京城領事館トモ密接ナル關係ヲ有ス

東支鐵道現在ノ組織ハ一九二四年開支及奉天協定ニ根據ヲ置クモノニシテ特辦公所、理事會、幹事會、管理所ヨリ成リ滿洲各站、天津、上海、大連等ニ合計十八ヶ所ノ管理局、工段出張所ヲ設ク、鐵道從業員ハ最近支那人約八千六百人、蘇聯邦人七千六百人ヲ算スルモ、官費力ハ殆ント蘇聯邦人ニ依リテ把握セラレ尙同鐵道ノ管理スルモノニ熱心者組織部、劇場「グランドホテル」、賣飲從業員購買組合等アリ經濟諸機關トシテハ公爾賓ニ商會代務部、板東銀行（「ダリバンク」）、國營保險局（「ゴス

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文部ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ付スル説明書

自分、本縣ハ其時省文部管理ノ下ニ居ル者ナルに雖モ茲ニ添付セラレタル日本
語ニ付テ審カレ七頁ヨリ成ル豆部及蒲州ニ於ケル共産運動ノ状況ト述スル
事項ハ日本政府（外務省）ノ要求ニ依ル公文書ノ敬孝ノ正確ニシテ撰定ナ
ル事ナルコトヲ説明ス

昭和二十二年三月十日 於東京

林

啓

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ通前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日 於 同 所

立會人 清 部 勝 昌